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Table of international flight routes and airlines including destinations like Abu Dhabi, Athens, and Frankfurt.

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Chaos of war taunts Yeltsin

James Meek in Moscow

BOODSHED and doubt attended the baptism of Russian democracy yesterday as a wooden Boris Yeltsin slurred his way through his inauguration oath and his troops struggled to win back control of Grozny, the Chechen capital they conquered at such terrible cost last year.

The boom of artillery across the Moscow river in a 30-gun salute to honour Russia's newly sworn-in president was answered a thousandfold from the charnel house of Grozny as Russian forces battled to break through to a tiny garrison holding off repeated Chechen rebel assaults on government buildings in the city centre.

"holiday" which may last as long as two months.

Mr Yeltsin made no mention of the Chechen crisis in his speech. Later, through his press service, he declared today a day of mourning for the victims of the fighting, and called on his field commanders to restore order in Grozny. However, he said only a peaceful settlement could resolve the crisis.

Four days after rebels sailed through Russian defences to occupy much of the city, the Russian defence minister, General Igor Rodionov, said: "Circumstances will probably force me to involve myself with this problem."

One government spokesman said Mr Chernomyrdin had told Gen Rodionov and the interior minister, Anatoly Kulikov, that it was their job to "save people" in Grozny. But the prime minister has limited influence.

Unconfirmed reports yesterday said Russian troops had suffered 130 dead and 400 wounded in the latest fighting in Grozny, with another 50 missing. One source said only 30 of 100 agents were left alive in the local building of the federal security service (FSB).

A spokesman for federal forces in Chechnya said 7,000 federal troops were surrounded. "The situation is completely out of control of the federal command. The cut-off troops are not even attempting to attack the separatists; they are limiting themselves to passive defence," he said.

Rebel units were fighting to prevent Russian forces breaking into the city from the two airfields which are their main bases - Severny and Khan-kala. At one point Severny seemed on the verge of being stormed, and all injured were evacuated, together with servicewomen.

The central government building, where the journalists and civilians were sheltering, was being defended by a small number of police and troops as rebels attacked with tanks, armoured troop carriers and tear gas.

Last night, the rebels' main media spokesman, Movladi Udugov, said they would agree to an evacuation organised by the International Committee of the Red Cross if federal forces stopped attacking their positions with helicopters and aircraft.



John's big adventure: Labour's deputy leader with traditional fish and chips and potential Labour recruits in Cleethorpes yesterday...



...and sticking to seaside pursuits - beach cricket and sticks of rock



PHOTOGRAPHS: GARRY WEAVER

New Labour, new sandpies, as Big John fights them on the beaches

Martin Wainwright on a day at the seaside

ONE minute little Emma Durrant was a perfectly satisfactory hole in the Cleethorpes sand. The next, a substantial portion of Labour's front bench had plunked itself down, commanded her green plastic bucket and taken charge.

"Now then Emma," instructed the party's deputy leader John Prescott, finding himself a smaller and less well-defended version of Clare Short, judging by his authoritative tone. "Here we go. Watch Scoop. Pat - that's right." Spitz "There's one sand pie for you - now for No. 2."

It was New Labour, New Danger, at least as far as three-year-old sand-builders on Lincolnshire's best beach were concerned. Marine Commandos couldn't have bettered the launch of the party's "right Tory lies on the beaches" season stunt in terms of energy and daring.

Toasting aside adages about performing with children (and boldly going right in front of a huge bill-board saying "Fantasy World") Mr Prescott went for the notorious Mawhinney Challenge head on. "Mr Mawhinney, the Tory chairman, asked:

Who'd want to meet John Prescott on a beach?" he declared to a knot of Barnsley daytrippers. "Well, he might not want to meet me, but Cleethorpes certainly does."

Harsh observers might question the exact accuracy of this - along with the legal issue of whether free hats, balloons, postcards and even rock with "Tory Lies" written all the way through comes a bit close to electoral "treating" for votes. Cleethorpean merry-makers like Emma, toddler Hannah Ward and a cricket-playing pair of teachers from London weren't given a whole lot of choice.

"I was just getting my eye in," said Graham Hall from Finchley, ruefully, detaching shoes of umrly Year Niners as Big John borrowed his hat. "This one's going all the way to Tuscany," said an aide as the deputy leader, whirled the willow in a semi-circle. "Whoops, missed."

The next delivery skied happily into the mudflat (home of the lug worm and blue-tailed godwit, according to a Cleethorpes council nature information board nearby). Any specimens about ducked or burrowed to safety, but Bernard Ham-

mond had no time to escape. Within moments, Labour's try-anything champion was in the passenger seat of Mr Hammond's municipal sand-buggy, which skims along the dunes warning of Old Fitties Creek, Old Danger. "We need to get out there rapidly," Mr Hammond explained, "to warn people on the sandbars about getting cut off by the creek, when the tide comes in."

Mr Prescott repeatedly banged home the text about Labour's tide coming in, embracing two postmen, pensioners from Chesterfield ("Ah, you have Tony Benn," he said ambivalently) and a quip at the noisy Tonka Sightseeing Train. "Typical privatised railway," he said, as the machine kept interrupting his comment with loud speakered chuffs and hoots.

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Call for DNA tests for convicts

Duncan Campbell Crime Correspondent

ALL prisoners should have DNA samples taken from them on their release, according to Ray White, soon to be president of the Association of Chief Police Officers.

This would benefit former prisoners who have gone straight but who come under suspicion in investigations where DNA evidence is available.

Mr White, who takes over as ACPO president in October, said in his annual report as chief constable of Dyfed-Powys that the public would be better protected if pre-release samples were taken. These would act as a powerful deterrent to crime.

The Government has indicated that it will introduce legislation requiring sex offenders leaving prison to give a DNA sample.

If this were extended to all prisoners, those who did not reoffend could be eliminated from an inquiry "in a non-intrusive manner" in crimes where DNA evidence was available, Mr White said.

Stephen Shaw, director of the Prison Reform Trust, disagreed that taking samples from all prisoners was necessary. DNA testing was expensive, and the crimes of most prisoners had nothing to do with sex offences.

Mr White's views are likely to carry weight with Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, not only because of his coming ACPO role but also because Dyfed-Powys has the lowest crime rate in England and Wales.

This was not to do with the rural nature of the area, Mr White said, but with the force's tactics in investigating all crime, rather than "screening out" some minor offences as other forces did.

The crime detection rate in Dyfed-Powys was 57 per cent, more than twice the national average, with 96 per cent of crimes of violence being detected.

'Squandered' jet pioneer Whittle dies, aged 89

John Ezard

SIR Frank Whittle - the British pioneer whose jet engines transformed the skies of the world - has died aged 89 in the United States, the country which gained incalculable wealth by exploiting his invention.

He saw the huge lead he had given Britain by inventing and developing the jet squan-

dered by government neglect and lack of investment.

Sir Frank, whose death was announced yesterday, remained angry about this though he was laden with belated honours. Sir Peter Masefield, the former chief of British European Airman of British European Airman, said he was "a great man who changed the face of aviation". British Airways, which recently named a Boeing 777 after him, said he

had played "a major part in the development of aviation".

Whittle outlined the concept of the jet engine as a 22-year-old cadet at RAF Cranwell, Lincolnshire, in 1928. The Air Ministry dismissed it as impractical. The Secretary of State for Air, the Marquis of Londonderry, wrote: "We do not consider that we should be justified in spending any time or money on it."

Whittle patented plans for a turbo-jet in 1930 but the Government made no effort to keep them secret. He spent five years seeking a backer. In 1935 two ex-RAF colleagues helped him start Power Jets, a company so short of funds it had to use reclaimed scrap metal. It tested its first jet engine in 1937.

In the late 1930s intelligence reports that Nazi Germany was close to developing jets aroused official interest at

last. Whittle's first turbo-jet, the E28/39, flew at Cranwell in 1941. By 1944 jet fighters were in service. Whittle said they could have been used against Hitler years earlier.

In a letter supporting Mrs Thatcher in the 1987 general election, he said Labour's nationalisation of his company in 1945 had halted engine design. "Work on the world's first turbo-fan and superonic aircraft stopped, depriving

Britain of a 10-year lead in civil jet aviation," he wrote. His plans went to the US, which used them for its entire post-war aircraft industry.

Sir Peter Masefield said: "We gave a good deal to the US and they ploughed money into it. But don't let's run down Britain. Here was a revolutionary idea. Not surprisingly, not everybody leapt on it."

Obituary, Outlook, page 20

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Advertisement for Eurostar train service, featuring a man in a suit and the text: 'On Eurostar, there are many comfy seats and toilets. My research shows that this is not true of family cars. eurostar. the passenger train from the centre of London to the centre of Paris or Brussels in just over 3 hours. 0345 30 30 30 or see your travel agent Europe just got closer...so don't forget your passport!'





Police and crash investigators examine the wreckage at Watford yesterday after Thursday's train crash in which a woman died and 69 people were injured. PHOTOGRAPH BY GRAHAM TURNER

# Driver 'passed red light'

## Crash 'looks like human error'

Rebecca Smithers and Vivek Chaudhary

**D**RIVER error was last night emerging as the most likely cause of the Watford rail crash, after investigators spent the day trawling through the wreckage of the two trains which collided on Thursday evening, killing one person and injuring 69.

release initial findings showing the driver of the full passenger train travelling north west through a red light. Last night police named the person killed as Ruth Holland, aged 54, books editor at the British Medical Journal. Mrs Holland, from Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, was married with one son. Eleven people were being treated at Watford general hospital last night, and three seriously injured passengers were at Mount Vernon hospital, north-west London.

ator of the two trains — and Railtrack spent yesterday examining the carriages at the site. Tapes from the signal monitoring equipment and the aviation-style "black boxes" on the trains were being studied at Railtrack's Signalling Control Centre, in Derby, to try to establish what happened before the collision and to prove a signalling fault was not to blame. The empty passenger train was hit by the passenger train carrying 400 commuters as it was crossing from a slow line to a fast line. Experts said more people would have died had the rolling stock not been relatively new: both trains were around 10 years old. Last night Railtrack said it was unlikely to have even a couple of lines open on Sunday, when up to 80,000 people are expected at Wembley for the Charity Shield football

match — the majority travelling from the north. Although Railtrack plans to make a statement next week on its initial conclusions, it has launched a separate investigation, which will be carried out in tandem with one by the Health and Safety Executive and one by the British Transport Police. Yesterday Railtrack announced the "independent chairman" of its inquiry would be David Maidment, aged 58, its former controller of safety policy. The police inquiry will produce a report for the coroner and determine whether any crime had been committed. Police said both train drivers had been tested for drugs and alcohol. The results were not yet available. The handling of the accident is the first big test of Railtrack's credibility since it

was floated on the stock market in May. The Transport Secretary, Sir George Young, yesterday denied suggestions that the restructuring of the railways for privatisation had compromised safety, or that investment was suffering. "I've always made it absolutely clear that whether the railways are publicly or privately owned, safety must remain paramount." But Labour's transport spokeswoman, Glenda Jack-

son, criticised the Government for not setting up a full public inquiry — as followed the Clapham disaster — and Railtrack for not pledging to publish its final report. Its decision to appoint an independent chairman to investigate "will be meaningless if the findings are not to be released to anyone outside the rail industry", she said. Leader comment, Outlook, page 14

# Alleged minibus hijack victims 'may be Britons'

Police baffled over three male tourists apparently abducted in a taxi hold-up



Peter Manyekane... 'held at gunpoint at traffic lights'

**S**OUTH AFRICAN police were last night still trying to identify three men, presumed to be British tourists, who were allegedly abducted in a taxi hijacking late on Thursday night. The minibus taxi, apparently stolen en route from Johannesburg airport to a local hotel, was found abandoned in Alexandra township a few miles north of the central business district yesterday morning. Alexandra, a teeming shanty town, is a notorious hideout for criminals carrying out hijackings and armed robberies in the adjoining, predominantly white, northern suburbs. The taxi driver, Peter Manyekane, aged 42, said he picked up the men at the airport. "I think they were English. They spoke very proper English and knew nothing about Johannesburg," he said. "They asked me to take them to a nice hotel in town."

On the way, he stopped at a traffic light and was confronted by five men armed with pistols, who forced him out of the minibus before driving the vehicle away, with the passengers and their luggage. Mr Manyekane said the five men were Zulus. Police called out a helicopter, and murder and robbery squads, to help in the hunt for the missing men. After a tip-off, the taxi was found empty, with two wheels missing, in an alley in Alexandra. Appeals were made over local radio stations for motorists who might have witnessed the hijacking. Mr Manyekane said that shortly before the hijacking, his passengers had asked about crime levels in Johan-

burg. "I said it was coming alright — not like before." The abduction of three tourists in such circumstances is unusual, since three male passengers would pose a control risk. Although criminals in Johannesburg are known for their ruthlessness, they usually hijack a vehicle with its driver alone, to ensure it is not equipped with a type of security device which immobilises it a short distance away. Alternatively, they may take an occupant to frighten them into disclosing the security numbers of their cash cards. Occasionally, women are taken in sexual attacks. The alleged hijacking comes at an unfortunate time for the police, who are tackling an outbreak of vigilante action in the parliamentary capital, Cape Town, which threatens to spread nationally. Earlier this week, an alleged gang leader was killed in Cape Town by vigilantes calling themselves People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad). Gangsters have sworn revenge for the killing, and Pagad has threatened further violence. Yesterday morning, a hand-grenade exploded at some shops in the vicinity of the conflict, without causing injury. Police said they did not know if there was a link.

Hijack bodes ill, page 5

# Sulking minister boycotts his job

## Derek Brown in Jerusalem on the prima donna of Israeli politics

**I**N THE discreet world of quiet diplomacy, Israel's foreign minister, David Levy, has no equal. He is not available to ambassadors, does not attend cabinet meetings, and has taken to boycotting his own office. Some may assume, kindly, that Mr Levy is conducting his country's diplomatic affairs with unparalleled discretion. The fact is, he is not conducting them at all. Israel's diplomatic agenda is naturally dominated by the Middle East peace process, and its skin of negotiations. So vital are these talks that they are kept firmly under the reins of the prime minister. It has been that way for four years, under Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, and now, Benjamin Netanyahu. Only Mr Levy seems not to have noticed. For a week or so, he has complained through his aides of the humiliation of his position. So great was his outrage, so deep his despair (it was hunted), that the foreign min-

ister could tender his resignation at yesterday's cabinet meeting. He did not. He was not there. When Mr Levy makes a point, he leaves little room for interpretation. For days his appointments diary has been virtually blank. He is rarely seen in public and is said to disconnect the telephone in the private offices where he confers with cronies. Mr Levy, aged 58, is running true to form. For 20 years, the shock-haired, blunt-spoken immigrant from Morocco has diverted the country with threats, sulks, and shrewd charges of discrimination. The strategy launched him into politics via the trade union system, and propelled him through the governments of Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir as minister and deputy prime minister. He fought for the Likud party leadership in 1983, losing to Mr Netanyahu in a bitter contest. Last year he stormed out of the party, forming his own Geshet



David Levy... 'deep and mutual loathing' for the PM

is hardly unprecedented in Israeli politics. Mr Rabin's reluctant appointment of Mr Peres as his foreign minister in 1992 came after a generation of acid rivalry. But the difference between Mr Peres and Mr Levy is that the former swallowed his scruples (or lack of them) and worked quietly at building his own role. While Mr Rabin took the strategic decisions, it was Mr Peres who set in train the secret talks that led to the peace accords. Subtlety on that scale has never been associated with Mr Levy. As Yoel Marcus noted in yesterday's Ha'aretz newspaper: "David Levy is an experienced politician, but the crises around his honour are too much. Sensitive, fragile as a ballerina, capricious as a prima donna, from Begin's days through Shamir until Netanyahu, he always has the position of the installed. If the energy [spent] appeasing him in the past 20 years had been put into space research, then we would have had an embassy on Mars a long time ago." The end of Zionism is nigh, Outlook page 19

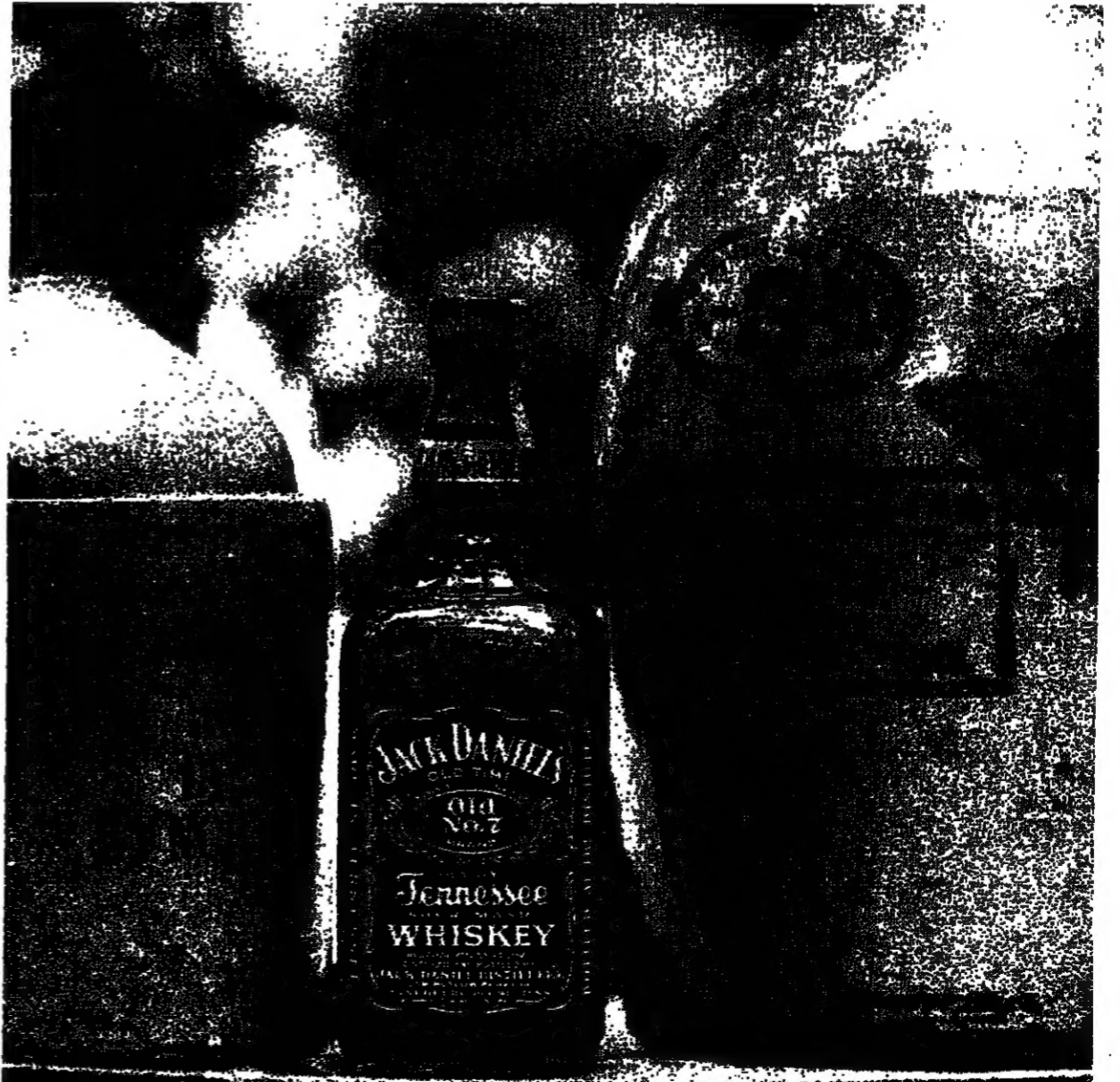
# New Labour, new sandpies, as Big John fights them on the beaches

*continued from page 1* "makes a lot of noise and does very slowly." The Cleethorpes shore was rather more friendly than the London Short, who hovered occasionally over Mr Prescott's banter with the media. Omitting to buy his Shadow Cabinet colleague a £1.99 personalised "Clare" headband, he

emphasised policy unity and ventured only: "I'll suggest to Clare that she comes to Cleethorpes for a bit of a break." Electorally the excursion will pay dividends in cheery publicity, even if the Great Seaside Voters' haters were as hard to divine as ever. Jacquie Bannard, bend-

ing Mr Prescott's ear about Grimsby's threatened Alzheimer's centre, confessed: "I'm a true blue," but helped knot string on Labour's "Tory Lies" balloon ("Anything to help the centre") and also told passers-by: "It's the Liberal Democrats who have been really helpful." Back with her sand pies,

Emma Durrant also spoke for the Confused, as she licked her Tory Lies rock (an innocuous product compared with some of the edible body-parts on sale on the Prom). "I can't remember who that man was," she said, two minutes after Mr Prescott had roared off, "but he gave me this lovely sweet."



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Abduction highlights falling rand and uncertain foreign investment • Vigilantes threaten peace as police bumble



Peter Manyekane with his Johannesburg taxi, from which three Britons were abducted yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: JUDA NGWENYA

Where not to go

The Travel Advice Unit of the Foreign Office advises against all travel to the following countries/regions:

**South Africa**

Foreign Office advice: Avoid isolated areas. Avoid townships. Do not wear expensive jewellery. Do not carry cameras. Minimum of cash should be carried. If staying in a hotel seek advice as to which areas to avoid.

Lonely Planet advice: No jewellery, cameras, flashy t-shirts. Use hotel/hostel as a safe. Avoid city centres at night and weekends when the shops are closed. Don't walk around at night. Keep a distance between the car in front and behind you to avoid being sandwiched. If held up, don't be a hero. Book a place to stay before you arrive, so you are not wandering.

Charlotte Hindle of Lonely Planet Travel Guides advises:

- South Africa - parts are very dangerous.
- North India - since kidnappings, stay away.
- Cambodia - unsafe in certain areas, some rail journeys dangerous.
- Columbia - fairly safe for tourists now.
- Peru - safe-ish now.
- Lebanon - fine, opening up for tourists.
- Turkey - PKK targeting tourists, especially in the South East.
- Egypt - Islamic groups targeting terrorists.

Unless on essential business the Foreign Office also advises against travel to:

- Algeria
- Angola
- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Bosnia
- Burma
- Chad
- Chechnya
- Cuba
- Cyprus
- Dominican Republic
- East Timor
- El Salvador
- Georgia
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- Haiti
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- Nicaragua
- Niger
- Northern Cyprus
- North Korea
- North Macedonia
- North Yemen
- Paraguay
- Romania
- Russia
- Slovenia
- Sri Lanka
- Tajikistan
- Tanzania
- Togo
- Turkmenistan
- Ukraine
- Uzbekistan
- Vietnam
- Yemen
- Zimbabwe

Hijack exposes frail S African prosperity

The kidnapping of three British visitors is not just a law and order issue, writes David Beresford

**S**OUTH Africa's levels of crime are known to be horrendous, but the circumstances of yesterday's abduction of three Britons in a taxi promise to bring the issue to a head for the country's authorities.

The fact that the attack was on a regular taxi service from the main international airport raises immediate concern for the government as to its impact on the tourism industry. There is a perception open to debate, but widely held - that crime is discouraging foreign investment in South Africa.

The hijack victims are from the main foreign investor, and this will add to fears about the slide of the rand, which recently reached a record low against the pound. Yesterday the governor of the reserve bank, Chris Stals, was insisting there were no plans to raise South Africa's already crippling interest rates, an assurance met with sneering scepticism from economists, who noted that the drain on foreign reserves from defaulting the currency made such action almost inevitable.

And then there is the timing of the incident. Coming hard on the heels of the "drugs war" which blew up in Cape Town this week - within a lynch mob burnt and shot a notorious gangster - it can only induce more vigilante action.

When it became apparent that the hijackers came from Alexandra township, a radio announcer noted on air that it was "women's day" and suggested it was time to imitate the example of 20,000 female anti-apartheid activists who, 40 years ago, marched on Pretoria's Union Buildings. He urged listeners who owned four-wheel-drive vehicles to get together and "sweep" Alexandra township. Knowing "Alex", as it is popularly called, one could only bless the common sense of those who opted to stay indoors on a winter's day.

The square mile shantytown that is Alex probably boasts the biggest concentration of assault rifles outside security force armories. "Man, I'm terrified in this place," a police fingerprint expert with a magnum on his hip said as he drove yesterday to the centre of the township where the hijacked vehicle had been discovered. He got lost. Asked whether he did not have a police radio, he grunted: "The battery is flat." Later he had to abandon his police van when a door fell off.

It was all a reminder of the comic opera reputation of the custodians of law and order. Earlier this year the Commissioner of Police, George Fivaz, showed monumental insensitivity to force morale when he announced that tenders had been invited from security firms to protect his headquarters. Privatisation does not appear to have helped much; this week a police spokesman apologised to journalists for his inability to fax statements to them, explaining that all the facsimile machines had been stolen.

Such incompetence points to the frustration for Nelson Mandela as he is driven time and time again, as he was this week after the vigilante eruption in Cape Town, to promise "tough action" against crime. Few believe he can deliver it.

The price the country has to pay for his helplessness is not only another seemingly run on the rand, but a seemingly inevitable erosion of the ANC's commitment to a human rights culture. The death chamber at Pretoria Central has been mothballed since the ANC came to power. The prison commander considered sorrowfully this week that he did not expect to see it in action again. Three missing Britons could yet prove him wrong.

World grows dangerous as travellers become targets

**Lucy Manning**

**BRITISH** travellers have found that foreign trips are increasingly dangerous, as tourists are prime targets for criminals and extreme political groups.

"Outside of war zones," said Charlotte Hindle of Lonely Planet Travel Guides, "Johannesburg is one of the most dangerous places you can go to."

The Foreign Office warns travellers to South Africa that the incidence of mugging and violent crime is increasing. It advises people to avoid isolated areas and townships, and not to carry cameras and large amounts of money.

Lonely Planet also warns motorists about criminals who drive in front and behind a car, sandwiching it and then mugging the occupants.

This week a Briton on holiday in Turkey, Michael Botterill, of Coventry, was shot and injured by a thief in his hotel room.

Tourists have been prime kidnap targets for political groups which want international attention or to use them as a bargaining chip against their government. In Kashmir, two Britons are among four Westerners who have been held for over a year by the al-Faran separatist group. A Norwegian with them was decapitated last August, and it is not known whether the remaining hostages are alive.

Four Cambridge University students were rescued in May after being held almost five months in the jungle in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, by the Free Papua Movement.

The Foreign Office has advised travellers not to visit nine areas, including Algeria, Kashmir, Iraq and Afghanistan. It also advises against travelling, unless on essential business, to Angola, Rwanda, Bosnia and Tajikistan.

Ms Hindle said: "Since the kidnappings in Kashmir we have told people to stay away. Other problem areas at the moment are Turkey, where there are bombings in tourist areas, Egypt, where Islamic extremists have attacked tourists, and Cambodia."

Even tourists to Spain, favourite destination of British holidaymakers, have found themselves confronted with terrorism. Last month 23 Britons were injured after a bomb planted by ETA, the Basque separatist group, exploded at Reus airport in northern Spain. But Ms Hindle said such problems were no worse than for London tourists during the IRA campaign.

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Questions start over Pyrenees camp tragedy



The Spanish Civil Guard and Red Cross workers carry the body of a victim of the flood at Las Nieves campsite. At least 76 people were killed.

David Harrison in Jaca and Julia Hayley in Madrid

THE REGION OF Aragon declared three days of mourning yesterday for the holidaymakers at a Pyrenees campsite who were swept to their deaths by flash floods on Wednesday. With the death toll standing at 76 so far, the debate was concentrating on how the disaster at Las Nieves could have been prevented.

In the bustle at the rink at Jaca, it was not difficult to pick out the relatives of victims. They were the ones with red-rimmed eyes and a frightened stare. As a bag was opened and a name put to a muddy and often disfigured face, the tears would run down crumpled, crushed faces.

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. J. GUILLEN

As a name was put to a muddy and often disfigured face, tears would run down crumpled, crushed faces

Looters prey on those who stayed put, as Croats arrive to create an ethnically homogeneous state Krajina Serbs live on hope and scraps

Julian Borger in Polaca, Krajina

ALONE among the crumbling remains of her deserted village, Marija Radinovic is steadily losing her sense of time. The rest of Polaca's 2,000 inhabitants fled to Serbia a year ago, but to her it seems like last week. She expects her family back any day, but they will almost certainly never come.

They are being squeezed out by thousands of ethnic Croats from Bosnia and the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia who are being transported in to build an ethnically homogeneous state, more in keeping with the times. Like some endangered species, the last Krajina Serbs are dying off. They have no family support network, and the bureaucratic and threadbare Croatian social welfare system is hardly a substitute.

Giuseppe Renda, an International Red Cross worker, who comes to see her each week, said: "Many of these old people survived the winter on the hope their families would come back in the spring. But the people are not coming back, and I think when they realise that, they won't have the strength to make it."

Belgrade will come back. "They're not far away. They might be here tomorrow," she told Mr Renda. But her daughter has informed the Red Cross she has no plans to come back. Her husband, a man of military age, would almost certainly be killed. Only women and the elderly are tolerated.

Serb villages in the Kistanje area, west of Knin. They say 1,800 Kosovo Catholics are expected by the end of the year. When they arrive, they will be completing a circle begun 400 years ago, when their ancestors left for Kosovo from what is now the Croatian port of Dubrovnik.

Integration and federation in the Balkans, the wheels of ethnic purification have been turning faster in peacetime than they did during most of the conflict. This time round, the casualties succumb quietly and unseen, in overgrown, empty villages.



Sinners seek absolution from on-line confessional

SINNERS' blushes be separated. After the drive-in church and the telly evangelist, Roman Catholics less than eager to come clean with their parish priest can now confess as heavily as using a condom (22 points against three), while marital infidelity costs 10 points. Having completed your confession, the computer adds up the bill and doles out penance. Murder costs 50 Our Fathers and 50 Hail Marys. The jury is still out on whether the transgressor is then absolved.

World news in brief

Scientists claim genes hold answer to Aids immunity

RESEARCHERS claim they have discovered why some people never contract the HIV virus although they have sex repeatedly with infected partners, writes Ian Katz in New York. Two separate teams say they have identified a genetic mutation — present in about 1 per cent of caucasians and in even lower proportions, if at all, in other racial groups — which appears to give some people protection against the virus.

Chinese port in peril

The Chinese authorities have evacuated about 10,000 people and prepared to blow up dikes and divert a swollen river to spare the city of Tianjin from flooding, officials said. Tianjin, 75 miles south-east of Beijing, is the capital's port and with 3 million people the country's third city. It has about 2,000 foreign companies. — Reuters.

Heavy hand

The Argentine government has attracted widespread criticism for its heavy-handed response to a 24-hour general strike on Thursday in which police kicked over campfires of food to prevent soup kitchens being set up, attacked crowds with truncheons and water cannons, and briefly arrested more than 50 trades unionists. — Agencies.

Tamil rebels hit cargo ship

SRI LANKAN Tamil rebels obliterated a Philippine-registered cargo ship with an underwater device yesterday, the military said, as the guerrillas reported a fierce battle with government troops near the rebel-held northern town of Kilinochchi. The ship attack followed a skirmish between the Sri Lankan navy and guerrilla Sea Tiger boats late on Thursday off the north-eastern port of Mullaitivu. A military statement said a rebel boat was destroyed, killing about 30 Sea Tigers.

Caymans buy ship to sink it

SANDY spot on the bottom of the Caribbean Sea will be the final resting place of a Russian cold war relic which tourism officials hope will act as a magnet for scuba divers. The Cayman government has confirmed that it has bought an abandoned Russian destroyer. The tourism minister, Thomas Jefferson, said that about £185,000 was paid for the 380ft ship, which was built in 1983 at a cost of about £20 million. It will be towed to Cayman Brac Island later this month where it will be sunk in 110ft of water. The Cayman Islands are world-renowned as a top destination for scuba divers. — Reuters.

Kings to meet

King Hussein of Jordan will visit Saudi Arabia tomorrow to discuss Middle East peace efforts and find ways to boost bilateral ties, officials in Amman said. — Reuters.

Family massacre

A Greek law student confessed yesterday to murdering his parents, grandmother, sister and uncle and dismembering them with a chainsaw. Police said the 24-year-old was mentally disturbed. — Reuters.

Taipei liaison

Russia, which does not officially recognise Taiwan, will open a representative office in Taipei in October, the Taiwan foreign ministry said. Taiwan opened an office in Russia three years ago. — Reuters.

MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY advertisement featuring a large 'M' logo and the text 'Thanks...' and 'Would someone you know appreciate some help getting the right university place? Just mention our name: Middlesex University. For advice on vacancies on and after 15 August telephone: 0181 362 6672 or see our Web site now: http://www.mdx.ac.uk'

Racing

Nash House ready to rebuild his reputation

by winning the traditional York trial. Finishing fourth behind Glory Of Dancer was no disgrace, but it appeared Nash House was another "talking horse" until he was found to be seriously distressed on returning to Mantons.

A viral infection knocked Nash House for six and he has been given plenty of time to recover. Chapple-Hyam is confident he has the colt in shape to do himself justice today, though he expects him to be better for the run.

Assuming he was operating below maximum power in the Dante Stakes at York back in May. On the strength of an effortless debut win at Newbury, backed up by some smart home work-outs, Nash House was widely expected to boost his well-trodden Derby claims

Anyone left wondering why bookmakers regularly sponsor sprint handicaps need only examine today's Central Handicap. Hyam, 21 runners, the possibilities appear endless.

Redcar double for Carter

GARY CARTER fought off fierce opposition to take the riding honours at Redcar yesterday with a double on Ultra Boy and Hulan.

When Carter scored on Hulan in the South Durham Maiden Stakes he had former Italian champion Fernando Jovine a length behind on Robamaset with Jason Weaver, bidding for his 100th winner of the season, trailing in third on newcomer Mighty Kean.

Today after just two unsuccessful rides during a three week stay here. The Italian, champion in 1993 and leading this year's title race with 87 winners, left for his native Italy and said he will return.

Ocean Ridge, trained by Peter Chapple-Hyam, and Mick Channon's Muehas are England's two challengers for tomorrow's Heinz 57 Phoenix Stakes at Leopardstown.



Winning start... Gary Carter initiates a Redcar double yesterday on Ultra Boy

Newmarket form guide for the televised races

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.00 Lady Jessica, 2.30 Liberty, 2.40 Mountgate, and 2.50 Go Brimstone.

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.50 Go Brimstone, 3.00 Royal Family, and 3.10 British Collections.

Haydock card with form for TV races

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.15 Woburn, 2.30 Woburn, and 2.45 Woburn.

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.50 Woburn, 3.00 Woburn, and 3.10 Woburn.

Redcar

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.10 Soviet Lady, 2.40 Woburn, and 2.50 Woburn.

Redcar

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Ayr runners and riders

Table with columns for race number, time, and horse names. Includes races like 2.05 Pello Sky, 2.30 Woburn, and 2.50 Woburn.

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Channel 4

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Large advertisement on the right side of the page. It features a vertical slogan 'All Black to rewrite the legal' and a large image of a person's face. The text is partially obscured and difficult to read in detail.



Rugby Union

All Blacks out to rewrite the legend

Ian Bothwick in Cape Town

FOUR-TEST series between New Zealand and South Africa is something to quicken the blood of the rugby enthusiast...

bok right-wing Pieter Hendriks, Osborne with the ball in hand is still one of the world's most dangerous attackers...



Good year... Damon Hill behind the wheel of the Williams-Renault at the Hungaroring yesterday

Motor Racing

Williams work on Hill starts

Alan Henry in Budapest

AFTER poor starts from pole position at Silverstone and Hockenheim, Damon Hill has had to brush up his technique before taking on the grand prix circuit...

gearing impressed many observers, is 21 points behind Hill with 50 still to fight for over the five remaining races of the season...

The Southern Hemisphere's inaugural Tri-Nations series, of which today's is the final match, has already been consigned to history...

"Our weaknesses in the last two Tests have been our ball retention and the fact we have not been able to maintain momentum by getting multi-phase possession..."

Athletics

Overfed fans shun Christie's Palace farewell as Atlanta achievers flock to the Riviera

CRYSTAL PALACE and Monte Carlo this weekend could not better encapsulate contrasting post-Olympic moods...

calls at Gateshead and Sheffield before bowing out. All Britain's individual medallists - Roger Black, Jonathan Edwards, Steve Buckley, Steve Smith and Denise Lewis - are competing with Black racing his 4 x 400m relay silver medal...

Veboern Rodal's winning run at Atlanta if Coe's record is eclipsed, Kipketer would have the consolation of one of the \$35,000 prizes on offer for setting a world best...

Welsh winners meet for new cup

NEATH and Pontypridd are to meet at Cardiff Arms Park on September 1 in a Welsh rugby equivalent of soccer's Charity Shield...

RFU officials this weekend could not better encapsulate contrasting post-Olympic moods. Linford Christie's final appearance at the south London track tomorrow will be before rows of empty seats...

Lingfield tonight

Table of horse racing results for Lingfield, including race numbers, names, and times.

Worcester (N.H.) programme tonight

Table of horse racing results for Worcester (N.H.), including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

Table of horse racing results for various tracks, including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

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Market Rasen (N.H.) tonight

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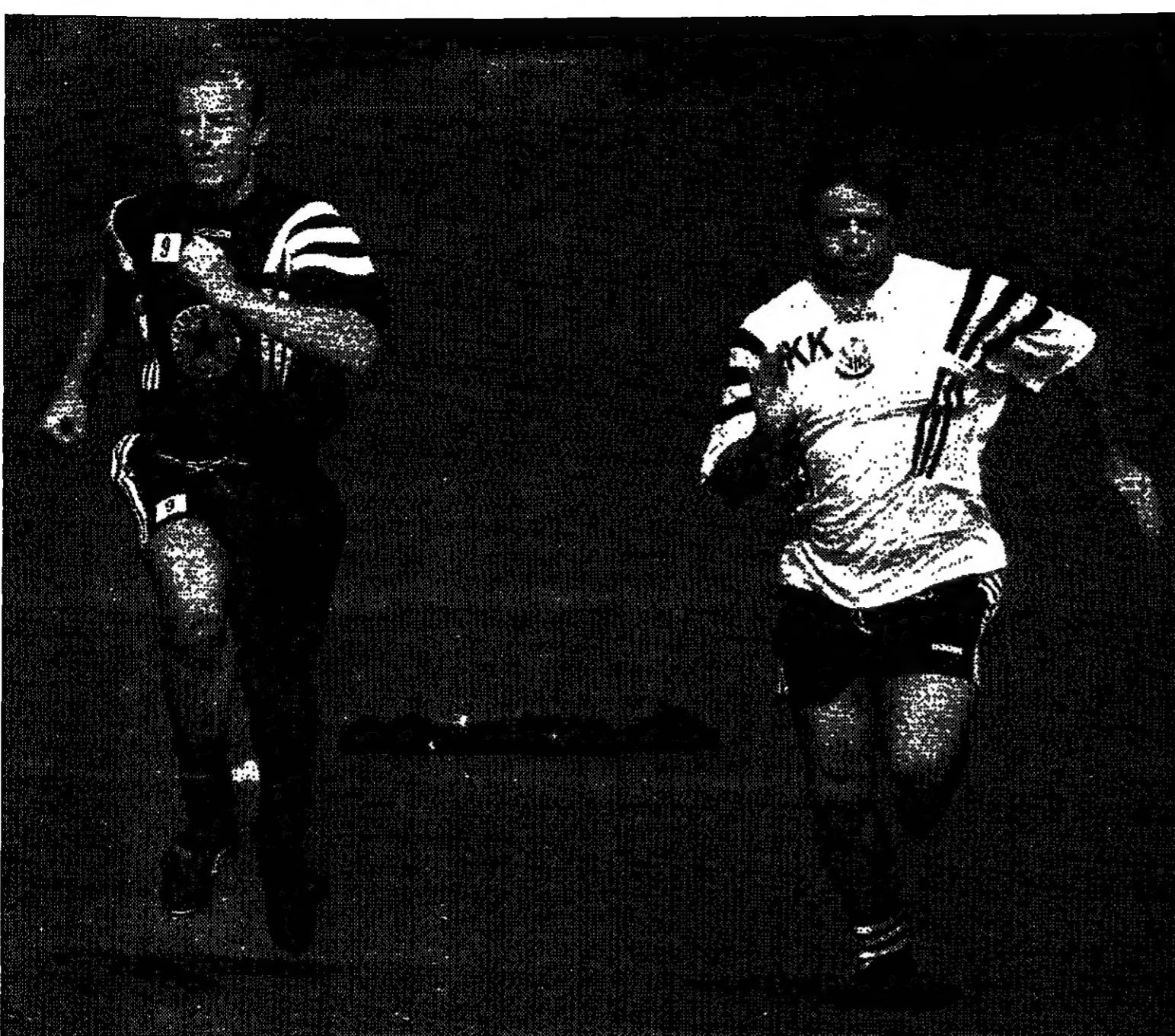
Advertisement for 'RACELINE' featuring a grid of race results and commentary for various tracks like Haydock, Newmarket, and Worcester.

SOCCER: THE FA CHARITY SHIELD

David Lacey warns against early portents from tomorrow's scene-shifter at Wembley as Newcastle set out to ease last season's painful memories at Manchester United's hands

Keegan renews faith and kicks off in hope

FOOTBALL is back. It never really went away. The players just stopped playing for a week or two. It becomes increasingly difficult to mark the point at which one season ends and the next begins. The FA Charity Shield used to be the English game's annual scene-shifter. Now it is more of a scene-shifter, a reminder that the latest interlude between league programmes is all but over.



Sprint double... the Newcastle manager Kevin Keegan showing Alan Shearer a clean pair of heels in training yesterday

It is a fixture the country is agog to see, an *hors d'oeuvre* served at the perfect moment to tickle the public palate for the main course. Whoever wins, nobody is going to declare the championship a two-horse race in August, not with Liverpool in an adjacent stable. But if, next spring, the title again rests between Old Trafford and St James' Park it will be no great surprise.

Ferguson clearly hopes that Poborsky, along with Jordi Cruyff, has ended his search for a successor to Andrei Kanchelskis. The only United player likely to be put out by the new arrivals, in the short term, is David Beckham.

Mathias Sammer to win the Czechs a penalty in the final, did much to confirm Ferguson's interest. Too much tends to be expected of the FA Charity Shield. The players have not entirely lost their summer stiffness. The only recent Shield match of any note was Leeds United's 4-3 defeat of Liverpool in 1992, when Eric Cantona scored the first hat-trick in the 19 years the fixture had been played at Wembley.

sent off pre-season. It is to be hoped, though not with any great feeling of expectation, that during the coming season officials will opt for the quiet word before they reach for the yellow card. But most will again take their cue from Ellery and since he referees by the book — in his case the book of Exodus — another explosion of cautions is likely.

more awkward times for defenses lie ahead. The benign mood of Euro 96, which survived the most passionate English support at Wembley, did much to convince the rest of the world that football in this country had finally shaken off its hoodlum image. Financial hooliganism remains a threat but football grounds are more civilised than they were. True, one had detected an intensity of hatred towards opponents even before the Cantona business at Crystal Palace. This season Manchester United will again be the regular objects of Red Rage.

United's new foreigners must earn their places

ALEX FERGUSON, who has spent £6 million on overseas players this summer, has warned the newcomers that they will have to earn their places in Manchester United's team.

potentially gruelling season in which England's Double winners aim to repeat that feat while going for the European Cup. Tomorrow's team, said Ferguson, "will be as close as I can get it to our Cup final side. I think that is fair to these lads."

He added: "Our intention is to go for everything full out this season... I think we have got to go big on the European Cup. The difference this time is that there is no restriction on foreign players. I can pick nine Chinese and a couple of Arabs if I want."

David Ellery refereed that match. Now, as the FA's whistling icon, he has warned tomorrow's teams not to expect the sort of leniency from Paul Durkin which he himself displayed in advising Manchester United to withdraw Roy Keane to spare the midfielder the likelihood of being

sent off pre-season. It is to be hoped, though not with any great feeling of expectation, that during the coming season officials will opt for the quiet word before they reach for the yellow card. But most will again take their cue from Ellery and since he referees by the book — in his case the book of Exodus — another explosion of cautions is likely.

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A Triple Helping of Lynn Barber. Interviewing the Gummer bothers; previewing Sunday's television and explaining how J Arthur Rank became rhyming slang, tomorrow in The Observer.

Weekend fixtures table listing various football matches including Premier League, Scottish League Cup, and FA Charity Shield.

Grobbelaar goes west

BRUCE GROBBELAAR, Leeds' summer of problems has been compounded by the announcement that their Ghanaian striker Tony Yeboah will miss the start of the season after failing to recover from the knee problem that until he is almost 40.

Leeds' summer of problems has been compounded by the announcement that their Ghanaian striker Tony Yeboah will miss the start of the season after failing to recover from the knee problem that until he is almost 40.

player-manager out for a month. But his assistant Graham Rix, who supervised Chelsea's impressive 2-1 friendly win against Sampdoria in Genoa on Wednesday night, said yesterday: "I have spoken to Ruid and he says the operation was a complete success."

Scottish preview

Smith dispels Old Firm complacency

Patrick Glenn finds Rangers and Celtic prepared for a closer-run Premier season. THE notion that the Old Firm is likely to dominate the Premier Division championship which begins today is sound. It would, however, be misguided to presume that the other eight "contenders" will not exert a degree of influence on the outcome.

club and appointed Tommy Burns as manager in 1994. That north-east corner remains hazardous territory but there is a widespread assumption that Rangers and Celtic will settle the championship purely in the matches against each other.

two seasons are the same and nobody should be surprised if the others close up a bit this time. We had to win 27 of the 36 games last time to lift the championship and that was an extraordinary run of consistency. Celtic's similar form created the gap.

Watson wary of calling a place his own

Michael Walker on the utility player seeking stability at St James' Park

"I think this season, more than any other at Newcastle, no one can say they are completely safe. I wouldn't hazard a guess about the starting line-up."

AT ONE stage this week it looked as though Newcastle United had entered into a Geordie exchange scheme with Blackburn Rovers. Having recruited at unprecedented expense the most famous one since Jimmy Neil, they then appeared set to lose another, the left-back Robbie Elliott.

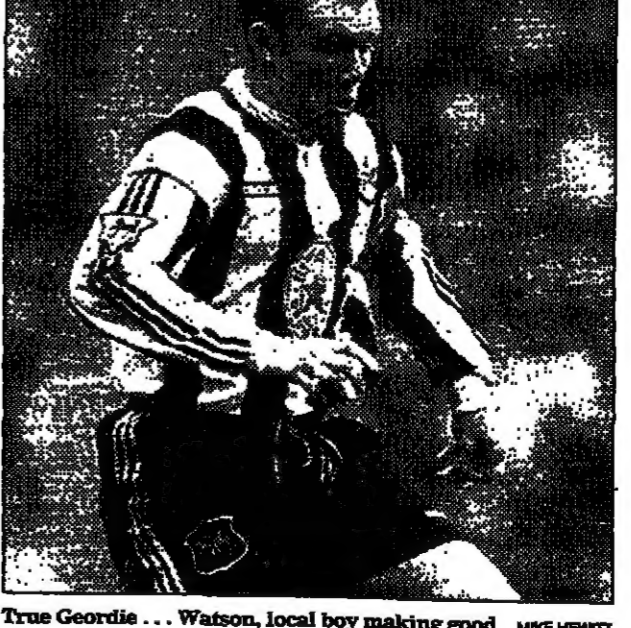
It has been a familiar scenario for Watson since he made his debut as a substitute for Liam O'Brien at Wolves in November 1990. Jim Smith was the Newcastle manager then and Watson is aware that not many 16-year-olds would get a chance in the first team today. "I liked the way Jim Smith played but he was unlucky at the time," he said.

Watson who started the last eight games of last season in preference to Warren Barton at right-back, is still not guaranteed automatic selection and is suitably wary about taking his place for granted.

Watson then prospered under Ossie Ardiles "but we were alarmingly close to disaster. Ossie always seemed laid back, though. Till the very end he kept on saying 'play your football'."

His case is unusual. At only 22 he is one of the longest-serving, most experienced players at the club, yet six years and 160 games since his debut he has still to secure a place or position in the team that he can truly call his own.

The end of Ardiles signalled the beginning of the Hall/Keegan revolution of which Watson is one of the few survivors. He played in Keegan's first game at Bristol City and is hoping to play in the next tomorrow.



True Geordie... Watson, local boy making good

Tomorrow Shearer will lead an early challenge to Old Trafford's new perennial presumption that they are cocks of the North. Certainly a win for Newcastle would ease still painful memories of last season's North-Eastern cock-up.

Out with pneumonia, Cole will not do that tomorrow but Watson is travelling in hope. "I've had a decent pre-season but then everybody is the fittest I've seen them. It looks like everybody's taken the initiative and said 'I can't be left behind.'"

Up-down-up has been the story of Newcastle's 12 months and, it could be said, of Watson's six years at the club. But he is banking on all at St James' having learnt from the disappointments of April and May.

Woos P

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom center of the page.

Golf

David Davies sees Phil Mickelson lead the field with his second 67 at the US PGA championship in Louisville

Woodsnam stays in the hunt

PHIL MICKELSON, the superbly talented left-hander, took an early and possibly permanent grip on the US PGA Championship yesterday at Valhalla Golf Club here in Kentucky. A second successive 67 gave him a total of 134 and a four-stroke advantage over the local man Kenny Perry and the Filipino Vijay Singh.

But Ian Woosnam, in one of his least favoured events, was at four under at the second round 72 that put him on the early leaderboard at joint fourth with Greg Norman and Tom Watson. At the other end of the scale was Colin Montgomerie, playing in one of his designated favourite events, who emphatically missed the cut after a second-round 78.

He totalled 149, with the cut expected to fall at 145 or 146. Woosnam's opening 68 had given much to an eagle at the long 10th, where a three-wood second shot finished five feet away. That took him to five under and, when after Friday's 10-hour delay he had to stop at 9pm, he was on target to mark with four holes to play.

He began them at 7.30 yesterday morning, an unearthy hour for anyone and particularly for the sociable Woosnam, who struggled through them in one over par. The slot was dropped at the par-18th where his drive went rough and his third shot a bunker.

He finished at 8.41, which was also precisely when he should have been on the 1st tee for the second round, and officials rushed the players through, giving the Welshman time for anything other than a banana.

VALHALLA CARD

Table with 5 columns: Hole, Yds, Par, Hole, Yds, Par. Rows 1-9 and Total.

Sometimes, when the mood is on them, players like to go straight on in these circumstances but Woosnam, who is taking medication for sinus trouble, looked weary. There was no spark at all about his play as he stepped and danced at the long 2nd. This is an arboreal world, featuring on the one side a densely vegetated marsh and on the other a 300yd long (and 150ft high) bank of oak and ash trees, a magnificent sight.

The local ash trees, of course, are used to make the Louisville Slugger, the baseball bat of choice for most Americans, and more than one million of them are made annually here. There is one propped up against the side of the Slugger Museum which is 120ft high and weighs 68,000lb, a bat that might give even Ian Botham pause.

Woosnam, after a good drive, had to wait ages for the green to clear and, rather than view the vista, he sat on his bag smoking a cigar. Eventually he dragged his second left, chipped weakly and settled for a tanny par. At four under par he was at this point, joint sixth, but on a lovely sunny day with soft but true greens, it was obvious that something exceptional was going to be needed.

Instead, after his tee shot to the 6th had a deep into the left-hand rough, Woosnam threw his baseball cap down on the ground angrily, for he knew he could not reach the

green of this drive-and-pitch hole in two. He went to three under and joint 15th. The long 7th was even worse, for in these benign conditions and for a player with Woosnam's power, a birdie was on offer. But the Welshman missed the fairway, then bunkered his third shot and the resultant six sent him sliding down the lists.

In contrast his Kiwi playing partner Frank Nobilo birdied the hole with a seven-footer to move to four under, which he improved with a 15-footer at the short 8th that put him on the leaderboard.

Baseball

NATIONAL LEAGUE Houston 6, Montreal 2; Florida 0, New York 3; Pittsburgh 3, San Diego 12; Atlanta 1, Philadelphia 0; St Louis 5, San Francisco 0; 10.

Baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE Boston 6, Toronto 0; New York Yankees 4, Milwaukee 0; Baltimore 6, Kansas City 1; Oakland 2, Seattle 1; Cleveland 5, Detroit 3; Texas 2, California 5; Minnesota 13.

Baseball

WOMEN'S WORLD OUTDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPS (Lansington Sp) Round 14: Australia 10, New Zealand 1; South Africa 10, England 1; Zimbabwe 10, Zambia 1; South Africa 10, Zimbabwe 10; Zimbabwe 10, Zambia 1.

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Rugby League

Keighley eye Pennine way

Keighley eye Pennine way

KEIGHLEY Cougars have high hopes of playing Super League games at Burnley's Turf Moor football ground following a meeting with the game's chief executive Maurice Lindsay.

The Cougars, one of the most successful and innovative clubs of recent years, do not intend to forsake their Cougar Park ground permanently but a change of venue could also mean a change of name — to the Pennine Cougars possibly.

Rugby League

Paris match can move Saints closer

ST HELENS can expect to move a step closer to their first championship for 21 years when they play Paris St Germain at the Charlety Stadium tonight.

Saints side with Alan Hunte back in the centre, although they will be without Chris Joynt and Villa Matantia. Salford, who will make sure of the First Division title and a place in Super League if they can avoid defeat by the visiting Keighley, should be able to begin celebrating tomorrow.

Rowing

Pinsent seeks rest and gold metal

MATTHEW PINSENT watched the world rowing championships finals here yesterday and pondered life after Olympic gold.

Out on the water six British junior crews earned places in today's finals while senior crews go for medals tomorrow, a total of 12 boats out of 21 home entrants.

Results

Rugby League ALLIANCE Carlisle 28, Warrington 22; Hull 20, Wigan 10; St Helens 19, Wakefield 19; Salford 19, Bradford 19; Salford 19, Bradford 19; Salford 19, Bradford 19.

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Sport in brief

Boxing Chavez furious at drug 'smear' JULIO CESAR CHAVEZ, accused of wife-beating, tax evasion and money laundering, took a full-page advertisement in a Mexico City newspaper on Thursday to counter what he alleges is a smear campaign.

Sailing

Cudmore cuts the comedy BOB FISHER at Cowes LIFE was a comedy of errors at Cowes Week yesterday. The errors were clerical, navigational and organizational, but most could be laughed away while serious matters were addressed.

Equitation

Equitation NICK SKELTON and John Whitaker had double clear rounds as Britain rebounded from the disappointments of Atlanta to win the Nations Cup event in Dublin, even though the final margin of victory was only half a point ahead of Ireland.

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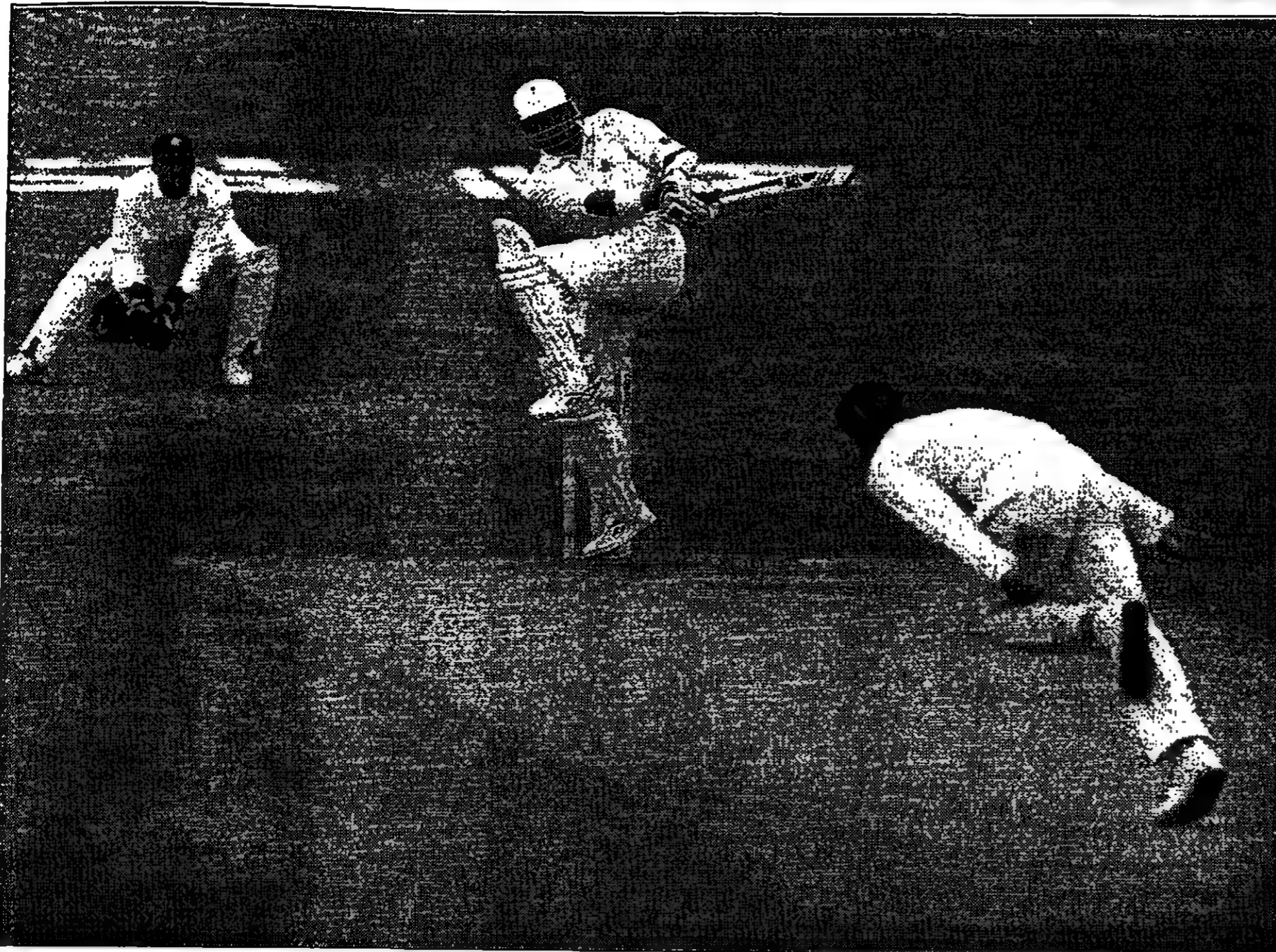
Soccer comes back with a bang, page 10

Woosnam revels in the chase, page 11

Hill sets the pace in Hungary, page 9

# SportsGuardian

ENGLAND EMBARK ON STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL AT HEADINGLEY AS LORD'S LOOKS AHEAD



Smart Alec... Stewart pulls Waqar Younis for four yesterday evening on the way to an unbeaten 52 off 66 balls

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JEWINS

England v Pakistan: second Test, second day

## Stewart leads the fight-back

Mike Selvey sees England win the last session after losing the first two to Moin

F, as people are fond of saying, cricket is a metaphor for life, then sometimes it works the other way around. Yesterday evening, shortly after five o'clock, Wasim Akram patrolled the hill from the Football Stand End and produced a wicked break-back that clipped the inside edge of Mike Atherton's bat before losing itself in the gloves of the tumbling Moin Khan.

As Wasim danced his delight and Atherton trudged off, an alarm bell began sounding in the press-box. It may have been sounding also in the minds of the players on the adjacent balcony for, after the best part of two days, England were floundering.

A draw remains their best

hope but the depression was lifted somewhat in the 25 overs that England were required to face last night when, despite the early loss of Atherton for 12 after one thunderous back-foot boundary, the response was spirited, led by Alec Stewart and Nasser Hussain.

Stewart counter-attacked with brilliance, pulling courageously and timing the ball wonderfully well off his legs. By the close he had hit six fours in his 51, made out of England's 104 for one, having added 90 in 22 overs for the second wicket with Hussain.

However, England require a further 145 to avoid following on and the ease of the batting yesterday should not obscure the magnitude of

the task ahead. The feared Waqar Younis was pummeled mercilessly for 37 runs from four overs but his new-ball bowling has always been a relatively weak point. Lord's showed that when the ball gets older and the Pakistani bowling geniuses — seamers and spinners alike — crank up a gear, the game can change in an hour. Recognition of the benign nature of the pitch now should not turn to complacency.

The England bowlers suffered for the first two sessions — retribution perhaps for the sins of the first day, when they wasted the opportunity to take the upper hand, Pakistan, resuming their innings on 281 for six, were not dismissed until after tea, by which time they had made 448. Moin contributed a vibrant 105, his third Test century, and Asif Mujtaba 51

## The rise and rise of a third rebel

David Hopps on the touring role of John Emburey

WHEN prayers are offered at the next Test and County Cricket Board junket, perhaps something along the lines of "Lord's forgive them for their sins" might provide an appropriate starting point.

John Emburey's appointment as England's assistant coach for the winter tours to Zimbabwe and New Zealand continues the uncannily rapid promotion of those who not so long ago incurred official wrath by joining rebel tours to South Africa while apartheid was still at its height.

As well as recognition for Emburey, a double rebel, Graham Gooch, a rebel captain, and David Graveney, a rebel manager, have both been elected as selectors this summer. Many accused them of selling out for financial gain but nobody imagined that they had identified a career opportunity.

Emburey, whatever, is a shrewd and sober individual, who should provide a satisfying counterpoint to David Lloyd's more innovative ways.

"My Northants contract still has three more years to run and I'll see it out," Emburey said. "I'm not a rival for David's coaching job."

The appointment brought some cheer for Raymond Illingworth, England's beleaguered chairman of selectors, who last year named him as his preferred heir apparent.

Before play resumed yesterday Illingworth had stomped out to the middle, studied the splattering of ball marks in the middle of the pitch and chuntered that it was hard to know which end the bowler had been operating from.

His frustration was understandable. Had England bowled respectably on the first day, an evening second-day pitch would have offered potential batting riches. Instead they

were still in the field and Moin Khan's doughty hundred drove them to distraction.

Fred Trueman, in the radio commentary box, lost patience after half an hour. "I am now beyond wondering what's going off out there," he spluttered. On Fred's Scale of Incredulity, that is topped only by the lengthy monotone grunt which signifies that words have failed him.

The Western Terrace was in stronger voice, no more so than Mike Marqusee, one of the most powerful advocates of the Hit Racism For Six campaign. Declarations by Asian spectators that Headingley had no distinctive racist problem left Marqusee agitated, fearing that it would be misinterpreted as an outright denial that racism exists in British sport.

If the point needs clarifying, it is that it is costly hypocritical to single out Yorkshire cricket habitually when the issue exists nationwide. With that, at least, Marqusee concurs.

Intriguingly the HR46 campaign has unearthed the fact that Headingley is the only Test ground in the country which explicitly bans racial abuse. Marqusee is right to press for others to follow. Those grounds which concocted an unnecessarily antagonistic ban on West Indian drums should get their priorities right.



Emburey... 'not a rival'

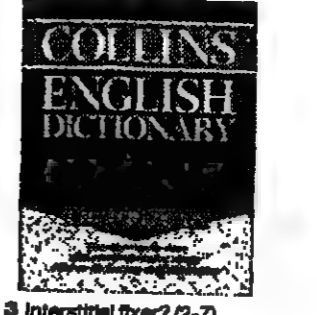
### Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,728

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,728, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday August 13.

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- Interstitial fever? (2-7)
- Leak of pulses in India? Get knotted! (5)
- Such a post-dietary figure achieved with a thousand pills, hey? (9)
- Organ pool? (6)
- Hunt ball set used direct action (3,3,6)
- Seers are said to have it (3,4)
- Wrong recipe costs gold warhorse (3,6)
- Where the Lordships are supple? Pay attention! (4,5)
- Come close to 3 1/2 percent VAT? (3,4)
- Erophthalmic condition of spinach buffs (3-4)
- Part-time army chaplain enters revolving bar (5)
- Backbones of angular casualties (6)

Set by Bunthorne

Across

- A month since new figure developed? (7)
- Has formed a relationship in this time to take cover (4,5)
- Man of note, OOI Bunthorne? No, Gerstweil (8,5,2)
- Division of two rivers, in a way (5)
- "18.22" ("The 3") (1,1,7)
- Dictator's involved in tax-free scheme with Italy's sausage production (8)
- "Froths" — to coin a word (5)
- The King's Own Scottish Whisky Producer (5)

Down

- Attacks one's origin: so raise the matter (5,2)
- Adversaria: taking placebo amid widespread approval (11,4)

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**"Look, I can see women enjoy sexual freedom but I think they always pay. Chaps win the sex war."**

Joanna Coles interview

Outlook page 17

Clare Short hit PETER KELLN

Gamb on gun who w choos

E

Handwritten signature or text at the bottom of the page.

# The Guardian Outlook

## Clare Short hints that Labour has sold its soul to the 'dark men' of marketing. PETER KELLNER on how this shadowy band are making over British politics

# Gambling on gurus who won't choose red

EVER since Julius Caesar was warned to beware the Ides of March, soothsayers — known today as polling and marketing advisers — have had a prickly relationship with politicians. Despised when they are wrong, and often when they are right, such advisers are condemned as unselected, out of touch and far too powerful.

Clare Short's interview for this week's *New Statesman* is the latest arrangement of an old tune. She attacked "the obsession with the media and focus groups" by "people who live in the dark": a group that seems to comprise advisers both inside and outside Tony Blair's office. Her remarks were widely assumed to represent a coded attack on Blair himself. I am not so sure. Not only is the notion of Mr Short speaking in code hardly ludicrous to anyone familiar with her refreshing habit of speaking her mind, but the point she is making about the use and abuse of market research in politics is one I know she feels strongly.

Her interview raises serious questions about the way we do politics. How influential are the modern-day soothsayers? And do they deserve the power they wield?

The short answer is that their influence is large, growing and in the main well-deserved. There are dangers that are not always averted, just as there are always dangers in listening too slavishly to any expert. But most politicians need to understand their market — the electorate — just as car makers, brewers and detergent companies need to understand theirs.

Tony Blair grasps this. He says particular heed to the focus groups conducted by Philip Gould. Gould is an outward-going enthusiast, whose extrovert manner conceals a nervous, but always useful, caution about Labour's prospects. He was first brought into Blair's orbit in the mid-eighties by Peter Mandelson, who was then the party's director of communications. During the 1992 election Gould repeatedly warned Neil Kinnock not to believe the leads reported by the opinion polls; his focus groups showed that floating voters still did not trust the party.

After the election, however, Labour's new leader, John Smith, wanted to build his own team for the next two years. Gould's star waned. Blair's election as leader, and Mandelson's return to the inside track, brought Gould back to the cen-

tre of the action. Blair was recently asked whether the need for British political leaders to nurse local constituencies distorted national policy decisions. "I don't know about that," he replied. "I do remember something Clinton said, which is that there is no one more powerful in the world today than a member of a focus group. If you really want to change things and if you want to get listened to, that's where you want to be."

As with so many tools used in political market research, focus groups originated in the United States. They evolved in the 1940s from research into mental illness. Doctors found they could learn a great deal by observing the group dynamics of mental patients through one-way mirrors. During the fifties, advertising agencies began to adapt the psychiatric techniques by gathering groups of eight-to-12 ordinary citizens together for one or two hours. The focus group was born.

It sounds a doddle; surely anyone could do it? After all, what could be easier than to sit some people in a room, give them some refreshments, and get them to chatter about politics, soap powder, foreign holidays, or whatever your client is trying to sell?

In fact, well-conducted focus groups involve specialist skills, often rooted in psychiatry. For example, most of us tend to be reserved and polite in the presence of strangers. Ask about an MP or a brand of hot noodles that they can't stand, and most people will say something blandly inoffensive along the lines of "so, so" or "I don't really know".

To overcome this caution, focus group companies have evolved a battery of projective techniques. If such-and-such a political party, or supermarket chain, were a car, what model would they be? What animal? What drink? Experience shows that people who are reluctant to say anything directly (or, for that matter, directly enthusiastic) are apt to reveal their true feelings when asked a projective question. How do you rate Acme fashion shoes? "OK, I suppose." "If Acme fashion shoes were a car, what would they be?" "A Trabant."

For some years, on both sides of the Atlantic, such questions were routinely asked and answered, with no public controversy, to help commercial companies improve their marketing. When United Distillers wanted to redesign its world-wide strategy for selling Johnny Walker Black Label whisky, it commissioned focus group research in 10 countries.

In one exercise, group members had to imagine that different brands of whisky were coming to a party. Which would behave well, and which would be rowdy? Which would talk together for one or two hours, and which would give the party life, and which would stand in the corner? In Thailand, Black Label was seen as a sociable playboy, in Britain and Spain as a slightly standoffish aristocrat. Such responses helped the company redesign its bottle labels and its advertising, so that the company could compete more effectively in each national market against its main rival, Chivas Regal. Doubtless Chivas Regal was doing much the same in response.

Even when focus groups started to be used in British politics, it was some time before they attracted controversy. This was partly because few people understood what was going on. Few Tories knew or cared that Saatchi and Saatchi used focus groups to design their immensely effective "Labour isn't Working" adver-



tising campaign in 1979. In 1983 MORI's Robert Worcester quietly conducted focus groups as part of his thankless task of advising the Labour Party of the true state of public opinion. Shortly before that election I sat in on a MORI focus group in Reading. It showed starkly how vast the distance was between the language of Labour's campaign and the concerns of floating voters.

Three things have happened to make focus groups a source of controversy. The first is they have moved from the background to the foreground of politicians' consciousness. Bill Clinton's victory in 1992 did more than anything else to give them publicity. His campaign team told how much they relied on focus groups. In mid-April, 1992, Clinton's campaign was in a bad way. Polls showed that he was distrusted; he trailed George Bush by 24 points.

Enter (according to Clinton's campaign) the unsung, anonymous heroine of his campaign: 10 women in Allentown, Pennsylvania, who were brought together by Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster, to discuss the candidate's image. If Clinton were a colour, they were asked, which would he be? Pink, they replied. Asked to explain, they said "he just goes with the flow" and "judges every issue."

GREENBERG then told the story of Clinton's life — his small-town upbringing, his alcoholic stepfather and so on. By the end of the session, the group had warmed to Clinton. Thus was born the strategy of persuading Clinton to fudge, less, and talk about his past more. Subsequently, whenever he seemed to be on the verge of fudging an issue, aides warned him not to "go plain".

Another group, this time of men, helped to persuade Clinton's team not to worry too much about defending or explaining the candidate's sexual morals. When the group's views were probed, and they began to talk openly, each admitted to skeletons in the cupboard.

Fans of focus group methods (such as Gould, who honed his own techniques by conducting some focus groups for the Clinton campaign on Greenberg's behalf) were excited by these discoveries. But opponents were appalled. Focus group-led campaigning seemed to take politics further away from principles and policies, and more towards the most cynical kind of marketing manipulation. Such criticisms were heightened by the second event to make focus groups controversial: the O J Simpson trial. It transpired that both defence and prosecution commissioned focus group research throughout the trial. They set up, in effect, parallel juries on whom they could try out possible tactics for questioning and cross-examination.

There was nothing new about lawyers testing their tactics this way but the O J Simpson trial brought it into the open. In another trial, a lawyer wanted to know how best to defend a client who ran a bar where the entertainment consisted of nude dancers. His parallel-jury focus group was offended by the description of what went on, but not by a video. So the lawyer showed the video in court and his client was acquitted.

Such stories do not impress every politician. They can convey the impression that focus groups are undermining the integrity of the legal process. From there it is but a short step to mount the charge that party-funded focus groups undermine the integrity of politics.

The third, and perhaps most valid, reason for controversy concerns the way focus group findings are used. With conventional opinion polls, anyone with access to the computer tables can do their own analysis and draw their own conclusions. Pollsters have no monopoly in the business of interpretation.

Focus group analysis is different. Part of Gould's task is to distil hours of taped discussions and decide what matters most. When he reports to Blair, or Mandelson, or one of their committees, he applies his own blend of experience and political outlook. Inevitably, he is open to the charge of twisting the evidence to suit his own beliefs.

Such charges are misplaced. During the past two years I have sat in on six political focus group discussions for BBC's *Newsnight* and *On The Record*. Two were conducted by NOP, four by Opinion Leader Research. In each case Blair's brand of Labour politics has been more popular with the voters Labour must attract than anything or anyone critic to his left in the party would prefer.

The conclusion is clear. There are legitimate concerns about the use of focus groups. But overall, most of the complaints have been no more than a new version of the age-old mistake of shooting the messenger.

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# Herbal tea and pythons with Ossie

## SUSANNAH HANDLEY on the last year in the life of murdered fashion designer Ossie Clark

FIRST met Ossie Clark a year ago when I went to his flat to look at a python snakeskin coat he had made for Brit Eklund in the sixties. Downstairs, Bob Dylan's Highway 61 still played and in Ossie's small sitting room a poster of Bob Marley smoking a heroic spliff was pinned to the wall. A furious barking came down the stairs to meet me and I saw him holding an angry Jack Russell under his arm. "Just put your hand to his mouth, darling, and it will be all right," he said. I did so with my eyes closed and the dog, Pippin, barked even harder.

It was early in the morning as we sat in his room hung with yellowing relics of better times. He was courteous in a long-lost style. "I always smoke a joint at this time, you don't mind do you?" and "Can I make you some herb tea?"

As we warmed to our subject — the desperate state of British fashion/culture/education/museums — his talent for mimicry took flight. For a moment he became Vivienne Westwood. "Comfort, I think, comfort is the very enemy of fashion," he quoted, before bursting out laughing.

Ossie was a designer's designer. He could think in three dimensions and make a garment that spiralled itself around the body. In the last few months of his life, he found himself being drawn back to where it all really began — to the Royal College of Art, the place where he met David Hockney and a whole new clique of grand bohemians like Patrick Procktor and Peter Blake. I had known of him through the sixties years as a friend. As a teenager in Belfast, my one dream was to acquire one of his dresses.

I got to know him personally much later, when I invited him back to the RCA to take part in an exhibition I was organising of the best of the college's design over the past century. We grew quite close, talking at length about his life and aspirations. He lay down on the sofa and came and grabbed everything — and it was her clothes that were keeping her upright — the next that an Indian army general had said that dancing with women not wearing corsets was like dancing with an unshelled egg.

He was filled with enthusiasm — for a film called *The Woman*, which didn't have a man in it, made as a sop to all the actresses who didn't get the Scarlett O'Hara part. Who else but Ossie would have been only five foot tall?

Ossie had no need for money-making and "signed away" his early business interests while rushing through some airport — just like signing an autograph. (After his bankruptcy in 1983, he didn't bother with a bank account.)

His final opinion on fashion was that it no longer existed — "all the designers have been taken by stylisticians. I'd been thinking that one day soon he would do something big again. He said he wanted to make a new beginning and was looking for a backer. That won't be happening now."

Susannah Handley teaches fashion at the Royal College of Art

the company of someone so fearlessly honest. He was a throwback to a time when it meant something to read books and be cultured, to bother to recite a poem or to describe how ancient Egyptians would make false eyelashes from flies' legs.

At first I felt wary of meeting him — never confront your heroes. Within minutes, I was under his spell. The astonishing thing about talking with Ossie was that he remembered everyone's name, what they sounded like — and what they wore. He spoke vividly of his childhood. At technical school, he met the first of his many inspiring art teachers — Roy Thomas. Roy was mad about fashion and nurtured Ossie's interest in women's clothing and the ballet. The intention at the school was to turn out machine-turners and pupils had to make their final choice at 13. Ossie chose the building trade, "quite simply," he said, "because the engineering master was a sadist."

Roy pulled some strings and Ossie was allowed Saturday classes at Warrington Art School until his headmaster found out. His teacher there wore the first pair of square-toed shoes he had ever seen — in turquoise and from Paris. Just exquisite, he remembered, "and in comparison with the shoes which were in the shops in Manchester, it was the difference between an orchid and a dandelion."

Ossie conversations were



Ossie Clark... was planning his comeback

multi-directional and full of pictures. One moment he would be telling you that Queen Elizabeth I stood for the last 12 days of her life, because she knew that if she lay down they would all come and grab everything — and it was her clothes that were keeping her upright — the next that an Indian army general had said that dancing with women not wearing corsets was like dancing with an unshelled egg.

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Susannah Handley teaches fashion at the Royal College of Art



# Back to bare knuckles

## This is reality fighting, as near to a street brawl as you can get in a fenced ring. It's a nasty hit in America and it may soon come here. RICHARD KELLY HEFT reports

**P**AUL "Polar Bear" Varelans has always been a tough guy who could take a punch. So when he saw the first Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) about two years ago — a "reality" fight where the only prohibitions were against biting and eye-gouging — he thought it looked like a "lot of fun". In his first fight against "a little 230-pounder", Varelans, a martial artist who is 6ft 5in and has a black belt in the kwon do, took 16 straight bare-knuckled hits to the head before he responded with a single colossal elbow strike. "One of my stronger attributes has always been how much abuse I can take and keep coming back," he says.

The same comment might be made about ultimate fighting. While politicians have pilloried it as "blood sport" or "human cockfighting" and successfully campaigned to have it banned in state after state, its popularity and profitability continues to rise. Battleground, a subsidiary of General Media, publisher of Penthouse magazine, recently staged its first extreme bouts. The fights, in which kicking, head-butting and choking are permitted — indeed, encouraged — were originally planned for a state-owned armory in New York City. But with state senators howling disapproval, the group found itself scrambling for a site at the last minute.

Promoters had just 36 hours to set-up 500 miles away in

North Carolina. Despite having to give away most of the tickets, the event turned a profit — about 85,000 households put up \$25 each to watch the eight-fight card on pay-per-view television. UFC bouts routinely attract more than 300,000 paying viewers.

But now bare-knuckled fighting is facing its biggest challenge. Organisers are running out of places to stage their matches. Most bouts have taken place in states which do not have boxing commissions but in almost every state where "reality" fights (so named because they most closely resemble real street fights) have been held, legislation has been introduced to ban future events.

"Soon we are going to be limited to Indian reservations," says Battleground's organiser and TV commentator, John Ferretti, half-joking. "It's just not worth having \$1 million invested in a show and then having to pack and run at the last minute."

It becomes too difficult, organisers are threatening to move elsewhere. The UFC's last championship, its eighth, was held in Puerto Rico in February and the Battleground's next is booked for an Indian reservation near Moresno.

There are plans to stage events in Australia, Argentina — and Britain.

"We think it would go over really well in England," says Ferretti, who plans to recruit British combatants. "There are some really tough guys over there." The UFC has already recruited a British martial arts champion, Marcus

Marriott Lee was scheduled to appear in a bout last September but was injured in training and was unable to fight. They are now looking for another British fighter.

American bout organisers see Britain as a potentially rich market. UFC claims to have sold more than 100,000 video films of fights in England, several of which have reached the top of the "special interest" video charts. And the organisers are in discussions with British cable companies about transmitting on a pay-per-view basis.

Organisers say they want to legitimise the sport; yet they believe official condemnation has been valuable. "These people have been a great help," says Don Zuckerman, president of Battleground. "Who would have heard of extreme fighting except for them ranting about us?"

Ultimate competitions are held in an octagonal ring surrounded by padded chain-link fencing. There are no rounds, time-outs, or weight classes. The battle rages until one fighter taps out, or the fight is called to an end by the ringside doctor, referee or cornerman. So far the fights have proved to be less dangerous than critics feared. There has yet to be any serious injury and some doctors claim the absence of gloves makes the sport safer — drastically limiting the number of punches a fighter can throw.

"When you pad the hand with a glove, you turn it into a weapon a fighter can use with very little consequence to him-



Bouts in the 'Ultimate Ultimate' fight in Denver, Colorado, with \$150,000 prize money at stake between eight contenders in the fenced-in octagonal ring. PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE PERSON

self," says Dr Joe Estwanik, who has been ringside for two UFC events and "hundreds" of amateur boxing matches. The result is that reality fights produce more superficial abrasions, cuts and swelling, but far fewer long-term brain injuries. While promoters boast no fighter has ever spent a night in hospital, Estwanik believes a tragedy in the sport is inevitable. "I think we will see a death eventually."

While the bouts are undeniably brutal — a term which has been used by both critics and promoters — marketing has magnified much of the danger. Advertisements show the most savage of punches, head-butts and kicks. Blood oozes from cuts and contestants are shown crawling away from victorious opponents on red-stained mats.

"In a strange way, I think they are marketing death," says Elliot Gorn, editor of *A Brief History Of American Sport*. "For example, why do they surround these guys with a cage? The implication is that this thing is so wild and out of control that it has to be contained in a fenced area — as if there is no telling what could happen if this violence were unleashed."

The language used is similarly aggressive. The smearing referee of the UFC events, himself a former kickboxer, begins matches by pointing to each fighter and barking "You Ready?" then bellowing: "Let's get it oooooommm!" In fact, most fights rarely live up to the violence of the promotion. Many wind up as grappling matches with one fighter seeking dominant positioning in order to place his opponent in a choke or "submission"

hold and force him to tap out. Predictably, the fight crowd is predominantly male, aged 18 to 35, and promotions are marketed to them. The synergy between Penthouse and Battleground is no accident: at extreme fighting's first event, Pet of the Year, Gina La Marva was introduced to the cheering throng between fights clad in only a thong bikini. Subsequently, four other Pets-of-the-Month were introduced, toured the ring, and joined the front row where they were handed pom-poms and reminded into sideline cheerleaders.

While controversy may have helped fuel growth of the sport, company officials privately admit they are concerned their shows could be dropped by cable networks if political pressure continues to mount. Although they are not sanctioned by any state, the UFC has set up and funded its own sanctioning body, the International Fighting Commission, with representatives of numerous fighting disciplines on its board.

Most fights are monitored by three doctors and combatants are examined before and after bouts. And while blood was allowed to flow freely in the early days, now a deep cut usually results in the ring doctor calling the fight.

Meanwhile, some fighters are beginning to become recognised in their own right. Polar Bear Varelans, who at 28 decided to give up a good job in Silicon Valley as a chip engineer because he "still had a few wild hairs" left, claims he was unable to shop at Christmas because he was mobbed by autograph-seeking fans.

He's never won a competition, but believes, as one of the youngest fighters in the UFC, that he will eventually. "Right now I'm like a big dull axe. But I'm sharpening my edge."

# Please don't bother taking me to your strong leader



Martin Kettle

**S**TRONG leadership is one of the most misguided political ambitions of the modern age. Our politicians never seem to learn this lesson. They aspire to be seen as strong leaders, yet strong leadership brings them only grief in the end.

Tony Blair's appeal is attributed by his advisers to his strength as a leader; yet this week he is paying the price of that approach in his dealings with Clare Short. John Major has made a career out of trying to be a strong leader over

Europe; yet many of his worst problems derive from the endless failure of this flawed ambition. What is the attraction of strong leadership, other than the fact that it is the opposite of weak leadership? In Britain, the term has a very particular connotation. A strong leader is a leader like Margaret Thatcher.

A substantial myth has grown up around Thatcher's 11 years in Downing Street. It says that she was a politician who knew exactly what she wanted, stuck to her goals in all circumstances, was proved right, and was popular. Never mind that the myth is a nonsense, her successors try to copy her in the hope of ruling for 11 years themselves.

Yet Mrs Thatcher's form of strong leadership was very particular. It was as idiosyncratic mix of simplicities, shouting and sex appeal. It was not as successful as her admirers pretend, nor as popular — let alone right. It was also a hard act to follow, much

less to emulate, as Neil Kinnock and David Owen were soon to discover.

John Major became popular enough to win an election, not just because he was not Mrs Thatcher, but because he was not like her either. He was admired because he didn't pretend to be a strong leader. Later, when he did try, he got into trouble from which he has never fully recovered.

Part of the Tory Party still yearns for Mrs Thatcher, but many more still yearn for the strong leadership which they think she offered. They are hugely mistaken. People don't want strength; they want happiness. If they are very unhappy, as they were in 1979, then a bit of strength seems attractive for a while. But it is a serious error to mistake means for ends.

Like Kinnock before him, and possibly because he is receiving the same advice from the same quarter, Blair thinks he has to be a strong leader too. Yet Blair did not

get where he is today by being a strong leader, but by being a persuasive and a plausible one. Fortunately, he is still both those things, but the attempt to be strong — in the Thatcher sense — is causing him nothing but problems and will continue to do so.

Strong leadership is essentially a con-trick, especially in the British context. Mrs Thatcher's version was Churchillian in imagery and motivation, and rested on an attempt to recreate the war and the British empire without the means to sustain either. It played well with the public because it was a dramatic contrast with what had preceded it, because it was brilliantly orchestrated by a populist media, and because British people like being told stories about how great they are.

It was, nevertheless, a huge piece of mutual delusion. It rested on the pretence that Britain could be "great" and "strong" again merely by an act of will or gerrymandering.

Strong leadership, Thatcher-style, was actually a sign of profound national weakness, not strength.

It is not surprising that people like it. People like the idea that things can be transformed by a magic wand, a win on the lottery, a strong leader. All these fantasies go together. The approval of strong leadership is part of a national inability to confront reality.

If strong leadership plays well in focus groups, as I presume it must, then that finding should not be misread. It is a sign that people do not have confidence in politicians, rather than a sign that they do. To try to give them this elixir is like trying to tell them they don't need to get out of bed in the morning. The myth of strong leadership pretends that decisions can be taken and problems solved more easily than they really can. It lays claim to a power over people's lives which politicians do not have, outside a place like Iraq.

I don't mind the Conservatives tying themselves in knots trying to provide strong leadership. But I resent Labour going down that same fruitless path. For Labour to try this tactic is to collude in a fraud. It is an example of the danger that parties find out what people say they want and then try to give it to them; what they should be doing is to give them something and then see whether they want it, a rather different use of public opinion.

**F**OR strong leadership is not the same thing as good leadership. Nor is it the same thing as the kind of leadership which is increasingly extolled and propounded within the best and most serious management theory. In the end, the theory of strong leadership leads all too easily to the cult of impetuosity. It says that a leader or manager must show he is the boss by acting in a manner which shows he knows his own mind, even if he doesn't.

and in spite of what others may think. The form takes priority over the substance, and there is an inherent temptation to pursue a wrong course of action in the name of consistency — another notable element in the vanity of strong leadership.

From here it is but a small step to the belief that strong leadership requires important decisions be taken with minimal consultation — a view which John Birt holds, among others. After that, the next stage is the belief that strong leaders should be encouraged to be rule-breakers, so important is it to protect their precious leadership skill from costly and time-consuming distractions.

Good businesses are not run like this, and nor should good societies be either. In saying this, I am not saying that Tony Blair is now embarked upon a form of leadership in which he will necessarily take impetuous decisions, abolish checks and balances, and ultimately

turn into a corrupt leader. But I do think it is worth saying both that there is a certain psychological path opening up here, and also that it is exactly what happened in the *locus classicus* of modern British strong leadership, the career of Margaret Thatcher.

Strong leadership is, I think, a denial of the realities of the world, both by the leader and the led. Our world is overwhelmingly a world of complex facts and theories, open systems of decision making, educated workforces, dialogue and compromise. It is not an accident that this is the characteristic civic and management mode of our time.

Complex, flexible and tolerant systems exist because they work. Strong leadership systems do not. Strong leadership, if it actually means anything of substance at all, is reactionary in the modern world and its protagonists are doomed to personal unhappiness and unfulfilled ambitions.

Life, death and twins

As with many of your correspondents on abortion (Letters, August 6-8) I take the view that it was wrong to abort one twin. However, what must be changed is the simplistic solution of adoption as a means to resolve this dilemma...

tendency to abuse patient confidentiality, and in doing so quotes the Hippocratic oath. The oath also contains a clause committing doctors not to procure abortions...

The context in which this media storm is occurring is of interest. During the past three general elections, a series of abortion "scandals" was manufactured to raise the political temperature on this issue...

DAVID Partridge (Letters, August 3) draws attention to a ruling whereby hospital authorities denied funeral rites, requested by the parents, to a foetus born shortly before 26 weeks...

Having studied the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority's code of practice, I have no confidence in its ability to screen would-be parents anywhere near as effectively as in the adoption process...

DOES David Steel (Abortion can still be the least of the evils, August 8) also respect the majority view in the population that human life is not necessarily sacred...

As to God playing roulette, there is no reason why God, having created a universe capable of producing the conditions for living organisms on Earth, could not also have created living things elsewhere...

YOUR leader (The high cost of name-dropping, August 9) is right that Harrods will go to the ends of the earth to protect its trademarks and to stop the unauthorised use of its name. But, among the instances you cite, you failed to mention the case of the Glasgow market-trader in the city's Barras district...

Even we had to smile, once he had stopped doing it. Michael Cole, Director of Public Affairs, Harrods, Knightsbridge, London SW1X 7XL.

THE artist Stargazers (August 6) may erroneously have given the impression that I deliberately withheld information from my clients if it is of an unpleasant nature. I do not see anything in a client's chart which I feel I cannot discuss with them. However, there may be sensitive matters which require careful handling. The chart shows potential rather than certainty for the individual. I would never envisage a situation where I would see a client "dumping the bastard"; rather, I would see a difficult and challenging relationship problem which needed to be urgently addressed. The final decision on the "dumping" would remain with the client. Pat Harris, 1 Highfield, Twyford, Hampshire, SO21 1QR.



Stars get in our eyes

YOUR leader (Mars, our cosmic cousin, August 6) oscillates between advising caution over life on Mars and making some unwarranted speculations. It is jumping the gun to say "we have turned a page in a new book" when all we have so far is one piece of data...

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Short orders for Clare

IT IS difficult not to read Clare Short's comments (Short says Blair's "dark night" August 8) as sour grapes in the context of her public sulk at losing the transport portfolio. If she had intended her comments as constructive advice, she would surely not have chosen the pages of the New Statesman as the means of conveying it...

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Why America strikes terror into our hearts

WHILE I have every sympathy for the families of victims of recent terrorist attacks, I do not see that the US can make any claim for moral leadership of the western world (Master of the universe, August 7). Quite the contrary: why do the Americans see themselves as wearing the white hats? Remember how the US navy shot down a civil airliner full of Iranian women and children during the Iran/Iraq war (when the US was quietly backing Iraq) with only muted expressions of regret...

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No frying tonight

GUARDIAN Nicoll (Unhealthy Scots get fat, August 9) is right to say that the Scottish diet can be appalling but it is naive to use fish and chip shops as the only source of unhealthy foods. They are merely responding to consumer demand. As a chef, I use the freshest of local produce (where possible) to prepare menus for a busy tourist trade, while providing a choice of a variety of foods. After all, no food is "bad" for you; it is the combination of foods consumed which create bad nutrition or, worse, a health problem, "malnutrition". Social attitudes have to change. However, this is only possible with the support of ancillary services to schools and colleges — such as school meals and contract caterers, or the mobile shops that trade outside school gates. It is a difficult task to promote healthy living in a classroom when, 50 yards away, the tuckshop beckons; and school meals, making a feeble attempt at "healthy" sandwiches, will at the presence of the formidable chip, topped with lashings of sweet cheese...

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It could be them

ROGER Burton, of Birmingham City Council, has got the wrong end of the stick when it comes to the Lottery (Letters, August 8). As Lord Gowrie stated, there is plenty of money in the pot. The problem for Mr Burton is that London has got its act together. After major organisations in the capital responded to a new opportunity, we are now encouraging smaller ones to do the same. On the subject of "national" schemes, Mr Burton does a disservice to the country. Does he seriously believe that only London has national treasures? The Tate Gallery in Liverpool, the National Railway Museum in York and the National Armouries Museum in Leeds are as "national" as Covent Garden or the South Bank Centre. Birmingham should follow Lord Gowrie's advice and focus on submitting successful Lottery bids. Robert Gordon Clark, Director of Communications, London First, 6 Tothill Street, London SW1H 9NA.

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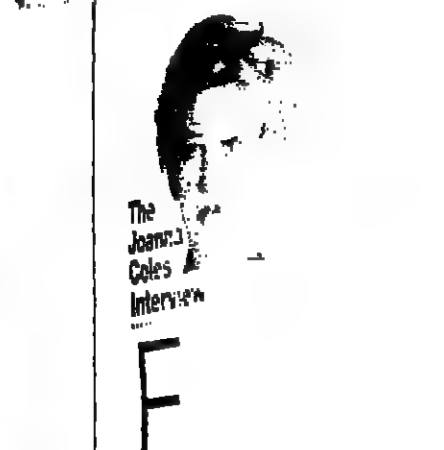
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The twins abortion anti-contraception boost. In fact, says Jack Scarsbrick...

Life, death and the total of sex



Ageing

Fidel Castro has nearly 40 years and is giving up. BELLA THOMAS on this most original pragmatic of leaders...

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The twins abortion case has given the anti-contraception campaigners Life a boost. In fact, says their leader Jack Scarisbrick, it was a defining moment

# Life, death, and the total denial of sex



The Joanna Coles Interview

Each equipped with a purple umbilical cord, the artificial, actual-size embryos sitting on Professor Scarisbrick's desk are made in Germany, actual size. One day (enlarged), five days, 10 days, one month, four months and, as luck would have it, there's a pair of twins, their development arrested in salmon-pink plastic at precisely five months. "Look at this," he says, ensnaring one of the dolls from its plastic womb and cradling it in his curled palm. "It's already this big. Imagine killing it." He replaces it gently and straightens up on a triumphant note. "This week's been very good for you, know. Oh yes, I think we will look back on this week and see it as a defining moment."

of York) say it begins at 14 days, or life is a process... Ugh. A year later, in 1967, as his daughter celebrated her first birthday, the House of Commons debated David Steel's abortion bill and Scarisbrick found himself uncontrollably angry. "The intellectual vacuity," he cries, eyes glistening with remembered fury. "I'd assumed Parliament was made up of intelligent people. There was old eyebrows Ramsey [the then Archbishop of Canterbury] going on about doctors being confused. And Steel dismissing the child in the womb as merely a dependent. Well unless you're absolutist your position is incoherent." And Scarisbrick was absolutely absolutist. And so he started Life, an organisation absolutely, fundamentally devoted to banning abortion. No compromise, no half measures, no exception, just no abortion. No abortion, whatsoever. So we are agreed on one thing at least — although it's decreasing, the number of abortions in Britain is still alarmingly high. The most recent figure available reveals that 185,878 abortions took place in 1994. I assume therefore that the professor is in favour of more effective methods of contraception? "Oh no," he says hurriedly, raising a hand in protest at such a suggestion. "Contraception only produces abortions!" And so we embark on a conversation which, punctuated by mugs of tea stamped with Life's logo of a black embryo, will take us the best part of the afternoon. "Let's be clear," says Scarisbrick, one of five children himself, including a brother affected by Down's syndrome. "We're talking about contraception when, in fact, what masquerades as contraception is an abortive agent. The pill is intended to cause an abortion rather than to stop ovulation. So is the IUD and the morning after pill."

But if contraception leads to abortion what do people do when they don't want to have sex, but don't want children? "Then there's STDs," the professor of modern history hurries on, ignoring this interjection. "Sexually transmitted diseases have reached epidemic proportions! We are particularly interested in chlamydia — it lurks dormant and an abortion will trigger it and it causes blocked fallopian tubes which leads to infertility." He sits back, adjusts his gold-rimmed spectacles and smiles at this grim announcement. I try again. But if more contraception leads to abortion, how do people have sex when they don't want a child? "You tell them if you have sex you'll almost inevitably have a baby. You tell them as soon as they're becoming sexually active. You tell them," he says with a Billy Grahamesque fervour, "that it's a jungle out there." But what, I suggest, if women want to have sex without producing babies? Perhaps they have careers, or as a last resort prefer an abortion to the alternative of bringing up a child? "This is liberation is it?" demands the professor, slinging a foot on the desk before thinking better of it and quickly taking it down. "Look I can see women enjoy sexual freedom but I think they always pay. Chaps win the sex war." As he leans forward I notice a pair of tiny yellow feet embroiled in the middle of his navy blue tie. The toes are pointing upwards, as if about to walk up to investigate the knot. "I'm not saying women are all innocent little things, but look at the pressure for people to have sex. Unless you're doing it, you're a wimp! And girls' magazines, not just men's magazines." Can you accept that women might want to have sex with no strings? "I'm not an expert in this," he concedes, "but I



Cradling his principles... Professor Scarisbrick and a model of twin embryos in the womb

was told as a boy that girls are slower to arouse than boys. That's what my mum told me." Scarisbrick, Emeritus Professor of History at Warwick University, is 57. So what, I wonder, does he think sex is for? Should it be restricted to procreation only? "Oh sex is a god. We're obsessed with sex. It's unhealthy. My personal opinions on sexual morality are really not..." and he trails

off, his tie swinging forward. And on the back I spot another pair of yellow embroidered feet, the toes pointing downwards as if, having inspected his neck, they are en route for his groin. "A girl has got to be sexually available as soon as she's able," he rattles on, and there is nothing for it but to sit and listen to his vision of today's youth. "If she wants to learn the piano or ballet she can't. She has to get kitted out

because the boy won't. Then she has to take the morning after pill, that's being hawked around the playground..." Hawked around the playground? I protest. "I thought you had to get it from a doctor." "Yes, but you don't use it and then you sell it to a friend." "Really?" "Oh yes, they go along to a family planning clinic and say, 'I had sex last night' and

the Family Planning Clinic says, 'Oh you poor dear, you'd better have this.' Then you sell it for a fiver." But I say again, you are still assuming that girls don't want to have sex. "Well, look, can I carry on with my morality story? Which goes like this. The girl gets pregnant, has an abortion, can't conceive when she eventually wants to and so her husband leaves her." The trouble is, I don't recognise this picture. Thousands

of women prefer abortion to the alternative and thousands of women who have abortions go on to have children. "Can I carry on?" he asks again. "Are families things you just switch on when you want? I'm against the whole concept of family planning, you don't plan to fall in love! A plague on the bloody planners! Haven't we learned with town planners?" At that moment one of Life's staff comes in, writing a press release for the professor to check. It concerns an Italian girl who had a termination at five months. Only the baby wasn't terminated. It was spotted wriggling and kept alive. Now the woman says it's the best thing that ever happened to her. Though Scarisbrick is overjoyed he is also puzzled that Italy's birth rate is now, at 1.2 children per couple, officially the lowest in Europe. "I don't understand what's happened to Italy," he mutters. Is there a country which he feels has got abortion right? "Ireland," he says after a moment. "There's still a reverence for family life. There's a lot of happiness and joy and laughter in Ireland." But Ireland is in the process of legalising abortion. "Yes," he whispers, "and the last time I was in Dublin I thought it was a terrible place. Sleazy, sordid beyond words."

'You tell them as soon as they're becoming sexually active. You tell them that it's a jungle out there'

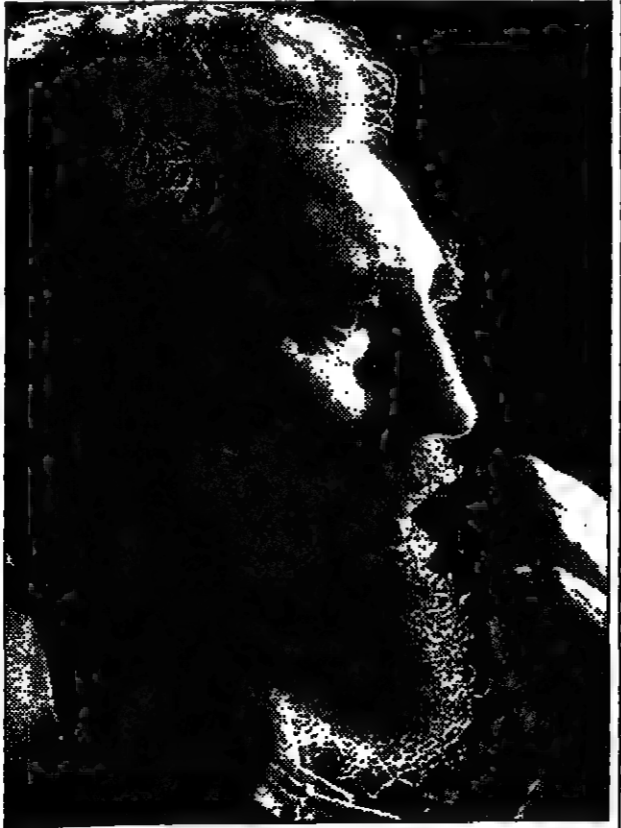
Because they're legalising abortion? "Yes. At the centre of it all is abortionism. I fundamentally believe it's the root of the problems, the violence at the heart of our culture. If you get that right lots of other things fall into place." It is impossible to argue with such fundamentalism. But what does he say to the parents of disabled children, some of whom declare openly that they wish they had had the option of an abortion? "I take Down's children. Every parent I've met with a Down's child says they bring out the best in people. Everybody is made better by them. The child will never mug anyone or be mean and beastly. They may be slower at learning but we take such a negative attitude. A Down's child is hunted ruthlessly in the womb." It seems pointless, but I will ask it anyway. Has he ever, even just once, doubted that he might be wrong? He shakes his head. "I hope I don't sound arrogant and smug. Even in the hardest of cases the response of killing can never be the right one. We've had everything at Life — incestuous rape, a 13-year-old, ethnic crisis, a brother threatening to kill his sister because of the stigma she had brought on the family, a father committing suicide, an Indian walking along a rail track through shame. I don't think there's anything we have to learn about the human predicament." Except perhaps that people like having sex.

## Ageing rock star of the world revolution

Fidel Castro has been in power for nearly 40 years and shows no sign of giving up. BELLA THOMAS reports on this most enigmatic and pragmatic of leaders as he turns 70

WHEN Fidel Castro came to power in 1959, it was his youth that was of the ideologies of that feat is that he should have grown old in office. Turning 70 years of age on Tuesday, as the world's longest-serving head of State but one (after King Hussein of Jordan), he cuts a rather different image: his continuity or his staying power is his most arresting feature these days. As a hangover from the heady days of the sixties, he is not unlike the phenomenon of an ageing rock star. His beard is grey and a little lean. His speeches, once famed for their length and fire, are now less protracted and usually delivered from a chair; his climactic points are often spoken in a hoarse whisper, and there are long dramatic pauses. He employs gravitas where once he exercised passion. His features tremble, he moves slowly and, on the advice of his doctor, he no longer smokes cigars, although he sucks at his cheeks as if he did. In spite of all this, his charisma has not weakened, and he still possesses an extraordinary capacity to stir his listeners. His appetite for realpolitik remains undiminished, he can still manoeuvre in international circles like few others and there are

no signs of a replacement. But Castro faces a dilemma. To change or not to change? Since the fall of the Berlin wall, his generous Soviet sponsors have petered out. Having institutionalised his revolution, the system over which he presides has rigidified and become resistant to change. International commentators have long been placing bets on whether or not he would last the winter (or, more relevantly, the summer, which is gruelling in the Caribbean). But although only minor adjustments have been made, not least the open-armed welcome offered to foreign investors, Castro appears to have defied the odds yet again. The dilemma, however, still stands. The past five years have seen the Cuban leader wrestling with the idea of the market: to let it in or to shut it out? As a result, it has been an acutely ambiguous period. Private restaurants have been allowed, and then banned, and then allowed again — but they must accommodate 12 chairs only; the US dollar has been legalised but the rangers on the black market are pursued as the arch-enemies of the revolution; economists are given a little more voice to draw up elaborate ideas, and are then issued with warnings. Castro recognises the need to harness the ingenu-



Bearded one: Castro's charisma has not weakened and he can still stir his listeners

ity and the muscle of the market, but he does not want to be rocked by it. Many American critics argue he is still essentially a Marxist Leninist at heart and that, if you believe his pillow talk about open trade, then you have, like so many others, been duped. This, however, misses the point. Like most leaders, Castro's chief ambition is to stay in power; he is enough of a realist to adjust. In many ways he

has lost his revolutionary edge. His rule has been marked by extreme caution and indecision in the past six years, rather than by ideas of transformation. This is perhaps understandable in view of the hostilities with the United States and the raucous criticism from Cuban exiles in Miami. Yet before a consummate politician above all else, he turns these hostilities to his own benefit. It is his position as a stalwart, embattled national-

ist leader of a small island standing up to an aggressive superpower that allows him to preserve his revolutionary image. (And, incidentally, makes his military fatigues a serious statement instead of a curious piece of nostalgia for the heydays of the Sierra Maestra.) His own legendary charisma should not be underestimated as a factor behind his survival. It is not merely his charm or his rhetoric. He possesses an encyclopaedic knowledge with which he often staggers his audience. He can deliberate on the latest moves in biotechnology, talk for hours with ambassadors on Swiss cheeses or debate the fate of factories in northern England with visiting businessmen. His favourite subjects tend to be science and athletics, to which he brings a bizarre moral focus. It is all part of the inflated belief in himself as an Enlightenment figure. That Cuba did so well in the Olympics may well be a measure of his personal enthusiasm for sport — he gave the team a vigorous pep talk before the event which turned into a warning for those thinking of defecting after seeing the glitter of Atlanta. Another facet of his allure is his penchant for paradox. His ability to shock prevents him from being seen as one of those faceless, dried-up Eastern European leaders. Take the following: at a diplomatic reception in Havana, Castro was overheard talking about Manuel Fraga, a significant figure of the right in Spain — he is the current president of Galicia and General Franco's former information minister. Fraga was the only

Western dignitary who was prepared to entertain Castro abroad in the early nineties, partly because of the Galician connection, Castro's father having been born in the region. At this reception, Castro described how much he admired Fraga in terms that might alarm Cuban-loving British socialists. "He is a good man," he said. "I would not even mind meeting Margaret Thatcher... In fact, if I had been a European, perhaps I too would have been on the right." What do Cubans think of all this double talk? Of Castro himself? This is the question which it is impossible to gauge properly in the absence of free elections. One meets plenty of frustrated individuals who are incensed that they are allowed to do so little to improve their own livelihoods; in spite of some decentralisation, the State still controls almost every aspect of the economy, except where the black market gets away with it. The best many people are able to do is to keep pigs on their balconies, and sell the pork on the sly. But even the most embittered individuals have a highly ambiguous reaction to their leader. They are still awed in some degree, recognising that he makes an impact internationally and that, besides, they have no alternative. In fact, one begins to realise that ambiguity is part of the intoxicating Cuban experience. As a result, it is likely that Castro will not be ousted before he dies ("it" he dies, as one official recently put it). The odds, given his liking for round numbers, are that he will see in the new millennium in his present role.

## Good-bye battery



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# Diaspora is the new star of Zion

## As Israel turns in on itself, and Zionism runs out of steam, the scattered Jewish communities of the world are now setting their own independent course, says IAN BLACK

**E**LECTION night in Israel was on May 29 this year and the temperature was suitably Levantine in a candlelit banquetting suite in the north London suburb of Finchley — weddings and barmitzvas a speciality — as several hundred Jews gathered impatiently to hear the results from Tel Aviv.

Hurried catering staff dished out soft drinks and hefty portions of chicken schnitzel in pitta bread while commentators commented and the exit polls showed a tiny lead for Shimon Peres. By the time the session broke up the pubs were long closed and traffic was thinning on the North Circular, but a Labour victory was looking much less certain.

Over 2,000 miles and two time zones separate that snug suburban corner of the diaspora from the Jewish state, but the election night special — throbbing with heat, confusion and an excitement that was both direct and vicarious — was a powerful reminder of the passionate attachment of a peculiar people to their promised land.

Yet in the centennial year of the birth of modern Jewish nationalism the relationship is evolving into something different. From Finchley to Jerusalem and Florida to Tel Aviv, Jews and Israelis are looking at each other through fresh and more critical eyes. By the waters of Babylon they weep not, these days, when they remember Zion.

Theodore Herzl would not have known what to make of it all in 1896, when he came up with the extraordinary idea that after nearly two millennia of exile and dispersion the Jews should again live in one land he argued that anti-Semitism was an insoluble, ineradicable problem.

For this highly assimilated, German-speaking Hungarian Jewish journalist, based in Paris for a Viennese newspaper, a homeland was the only answer to the Jewish question. Unless the Jews left Europe, Herzl warned, after being "converted" by the Dreyfus affair, they would face catastrophe. "If you will it," he famously quipped — with the huckster's gift for self-promotion that David Goldberg observes in his anniversary study of Zionist thought — "it is no dream."

It wasn't. But the author of *Der Judenstaat* died in 1902, so he saw neither the catastrophe nor a vision whose fulfilment in the end owed more to Hitler than Herzl and as much to biblical otatism as

the business-prospect practicality of his project.

Herzl thought Argentina might do (and later looked at Uganda) though he added, almost as an afterthought, that the homeland could be in Palestine, where Jewish settlers would be welcomed by the Ottoman Sultan and form a handy "outpost of civilisation against barbarism."

Herzl's Jews were passive victims of unchanging prejudice, covering in their ghettos, aloof in plutocratic nobility or insecure in their assimilation into Gentile society. But a century on and a Holocaust later they have become "voluntary Jews" who no longer face physical annihilation and rarely persecution. Assimilation and secularisation are far bigger threats than anti-Semitism. (And Palestine, of course, turned out to have a serious downside, though that is another story.)

Today's Jews are defined more by themselves than by others: most are citizens (since the collapse of communism), of free, wealthy, multicultural and pluralistic societies. And while Israel may still help them feel more secure, they are not in threat to the homeland across the sea. "Israel and the diaspora no longer form an unbroken continuum," one pundit said recently.

In the communities of the diaspora — roughly 10 million Jews to four million in Israel — this debate is not an abstract one. And in Britain, where Zionism once meant collecting pennies in blue and white tin boxes to build the "national home" in Palestine, you can follow it every week in the Jewish Chronicle — Herzl's choice for his first faltering thoughts on his big idea.

Thus the big Anglo-Jewish news story of 1996, by neat historical coincidence, has been how the Joint Israel Appeal, long dedicated to fundraising for Israel, has decided to move towards the American model of a "community chest" which unites financial appeals for Israel, Jewish education and welfare services, recognising that sustaining the diaspora is now at least as important as making the desert bloom.

Some argue that it is much more important, taking heed of the gloomy and controversial warning of Bernard Wasserstein, the Oxford historian, that the Jews of Europe are in danger of becoming as Amish of Pennsylvania as demographic, religious, social and cultural trends inexorably towards dissolution.

"Soon nothing will be left save a disembodied memory," he predicts.

So, all over the diaspora, goaded by arguments like this, communities that have been decimated by intermarriage and declining traditions and divided by demoralising splits between Orthodox and others are shifting from saving Jewish lives — in Ethiopia, Russia, and of course Israel — to saving Jewish "Life" with a capital L. Survival, yet again, is the name of the game.

There were certainly good practical arguments for the merger between the Joint Israel Appeal and Jewish Community, set up by Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks to ensure that his generation, as he put it, "have Jewish grandchildren". As charitable contributions from Jews in the West have declined along with the welfare state there is simply less money to go round. But the move is part of a much bigger change in the relationship between Israel and the diaspora — from dependence to reciprocity, Sacks has called it.

"It is the first admission ideologically that Zionism's central premise is not valid — not every Jew is going to live in the State of Israel even given the freedom of choice," argues Ned Temko, editor of the Jewish Chronicle. "All the core reasons for identification and fundraising have changed beyond recognition too. The concern now is that Jewishness and Judaism are being killed by kindness."

**E**VENTS in Zion have played an important role: in the last few years Israel has been transformed from land of open-necked shirts and open-toed sandals, to a hi-tech consumer society for which a widening circle of peace with the Arabs — on its own tough terms — has brought an unfamiliar sense of normality that goes far beyond the Jewish policemen and Jewish prostitutes the early pioneers got so misty-eyed about.

The country that playwright Arnold Wesker once called "our little gangster state" has achieved a new international respectability that has generated unprecedented wealth and accelerated a process of westernisation that has widened the domestic divide between secular and religious. When the Jerusalem Report magazine ran a cover story on this growing prosperity it used the clever post-Herzlian quip: "If you can afford it, it is no dream."

Yet native-born and secular-minded Israelis — transformed by the Zionist revolution from a religious minority to a nation on its own land — displayed ambivalence and even hostility to their diaspora cousins long before these glittering new horizons beckoned.

In Hebrew, the word "Zionism" used to be a synonym for worthy, high-flown rhetoric — pompous and meaningless compared to the practical business of ploughing fields or fighting Arabs; in short, just getting on with life. Sabra toughness allowed young Israelis to make tasteless jokes about the Holocaust and to poke fun at the "ghetto mentality" of American Jews.

Some of these attitudes were shared by Yitzhak Rabin, who first encountered "chequebook Zionism" when he was ambassador to the US in the late sixties and often resented the ambivalent ties that bind Israel to the diaspora. And some linger on, even though the values of kibbutz, military service and pioneering have long faded.

Yossi Beilin, a rising Labour Party star, ruffled feathers from Manchester to Manchester when he declared Israel self-sufficient and no longer in need of Jewish handouts. And there were ill-tempered comments about time-wasting and windy rhetoric from President Ezer Weizmann when he met diaspora leaders in Jerusalem earlier this year.

Conflict with the Arab world kept the relationship solid for a very long time: the high point of uncritical Jewish identification with Israel was the war of June 1967 — an almost messianic moment when the physical annihilation of the Nazi period seemed briefly on the cards again and made the subsequent condemnation of Zionism as racism, so burningly true to Arabs, such a travesty for most Jews.

But Menachem Begin's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 exposed some of the strains as arguments about not washing dirty linen in front of the *goyim* (non-Jews) gave way to open outrage, albeit among a minority who does not keep kosher can be elected prime minister with the active support of Israel's religious parties (who were opposed to Peres's peace policies) suggests appalling moral decline to diaspora thinkers who doubt whether a nation of Hebrew-speaking, pork-eating pagans can be a light unto the Jews, let alone unto the *goyim*.

Hardly surprising then, that Herzl's dream is being analysed again these days.

different their interests have become, but how different the two communities are."

And Jews are voting with their feet: many diaspora youngsters now regard their East European roots as equally important to the tug of Israel and see the post-communist lands of their forebears as a "new frontier" that is more challenging to cross than to spend the traditional period volunteering on a kibbutz (where many encountered utopian socialism, sex, agricultural labour and drugs — not necessarily in that order — for the first time). Twelve thousand young Jews went on organised visits to Israel in 1997. This year numbers are down to a paltry 8,000.

The diaspora is being more assertive in other ways. Resistance is mounting to the fact that so much of modern Jewish history has been written through a distorting Zionist prism, reducing 2,000 years of Jewish life in Europe to a mere pogrom-punctuated episode on the road to Jerusalem.

And to add insult to historical injury, what Israel has to offer is often less than exemplary. Viewed from London, Paris or Los Angeles, its political system looks febrile and unwieldy and its culture rampantly materialist while the growing role of militant fundamentalist religion — in a society where there is no separation between synagogue and state — is more akin to Iran than to an outpost of civilisation of any kind.

"Thus criticism of Israel by foreign Jews seems to be acquiring a new sharpness. This reflects not only the increasing polarisation in the country itself but also a new sense of distance and differentiation that has grown as younger historians in Israel revise their own myth-laden past and their diaspora equivalents begin to explore the potential of the most tolerant societies Jews have ever known."

Those who fought to create a Jewish state... shared

David J Goldberg, *To the Promised Land* (Penguin, August 29), £7.99; Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora* (Hamish Hamilton 1996), £20; Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Controversy of Zion*, (Sinclair Stevenson, July 15), £17.99; Diana Pinto, *A New Jewish Identity for post 1989 Europe* (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, June 1996), £5.69.

Illustration by GEOFF GRANDFIELD

ian Black, diplomatic editor of The Guardian, has been writing about Israel and the Middle East for nearly 20 years. As the paper's Jerusalem correspondent from 1984 to 1993 he was commended in the British Press Awards for his coverage of the Palestinian Intifada. He has also written for the Economist, the Washington Post and many other papers and is a regular commentator on international affairs for the BBC. He is the author of *Israel's Secret Wars*.

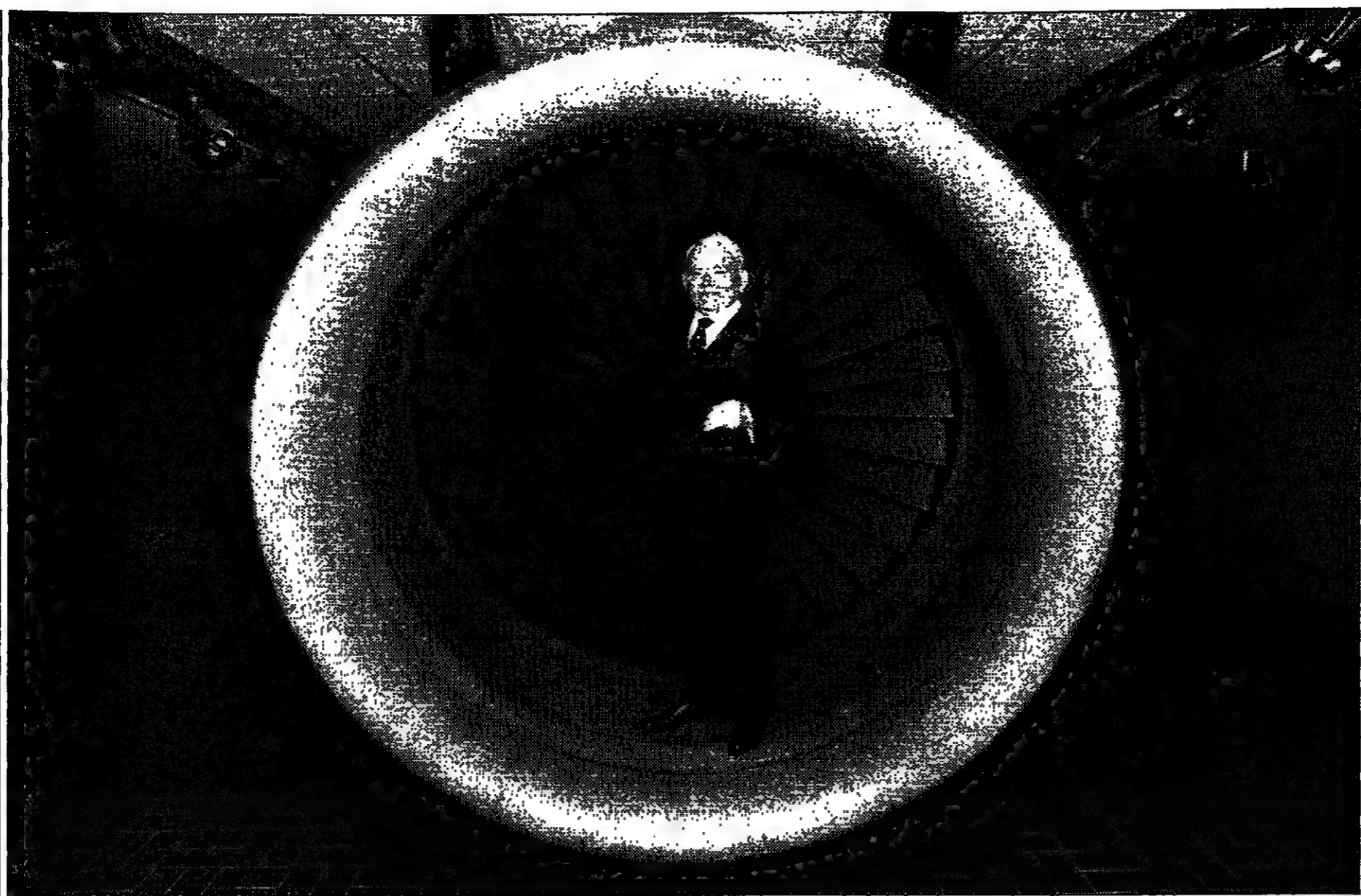


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Sir Frank Whittle

Revolutionary idea that took time to take off

Sir Frank Whittle, who has died aged 88, was an engineering genius frustrated by official disinterest and political manipulation...



The power and the glory... Sir Frank inside the intake of a Rolls-Royce engine. To his despair, the company was handed his life's work by the Air Ministry

Whittle, whose life was fought initially against personal and physical disadvantages, and then against the apathetic malaise of industry and government in the 1930s...

modernisation programme involving the Hurricane and the Spitfire and, in retrospect, failure to grasp the importance of the jet engine...

Melville Jones, both of whom believed that the time was right for jet development. Whittle launched the company on a shoestring.

Compensation of £100,000 seems inadequate reward for creating a hi-tech industry

patent to lapse. However, he had filed new ones relating to compressors and the turbofan (the bypass jet), and had started negotiations with British Thomson Houston (BTH) for a contract to manufacture a test engine.

Whittle's development programme. Worse, the Air Ministry chose Dr W S Farren — deputy head of aeronautical science at Cambridge — as their "independent" consultant.

Not until 1938, with Whittle's third experimental engine showing substantial technical promise, did the Air Ministry step in with a contract allowing Whittle to head Power Jets Ltd and develop a prototype engine for the RAF.

With jet engines obviously heading for success, the Air Ministry came under heavy pressure from the British aircraft industry...

Whittle argued that they were ill-prepared for an entirely new technology. Later delays showed he was right but his plea was in vain and Power Jets Ltd was restricted to research work.

His life was always a struggle, yet he was never embittered, merely direct and outspoken

Welland. Power Jets was nationalised and Whittle appointed as an adviser. In 1946, with jet engine development taking off throughout the world, his company was deprived of all rights to design and develop engines...

other engine designs in the library, rather than doing homework, probably shaped his future.

Two were special: crossing the Atlantic aboard Concorde at a speed that, 30 years earlier, he had predicted as possible. And being flown to Hong Kong in 1995 for an 80th birthday celebration...

Anthony Tucker: Glynn Jones, author of The Jet Experiment, tells us how 30 years ago Frank Whittle married an American air stewardess who was to care for him till the end of his life.

When we went back to see him in the US again, five years later, the sun had come out. We found his walls checkered with RAF squadron crests and honorary degrees from universities around the world.

Herbert Huncke

First of the Beats on a long rough road

HERBERT Huncke, who has died aged 80, was the engaging street hustler and lifelong drug-addict who gave the word "beat" its meaning.



Guide to the underworld... Herbert Huncke was a perfect escort to the dives of 42nd Street

Go (1982) and as himself in many Ginsberg poems. Huncke was one of those who found the complacent repression and sentimentality of post-war America unbearable...

Dean and in mass-market alternative culture of the 1960s. By his own account Huncke always felt a misfit, at odds with his middle-class family...

they threw him out and periodically retiring to prison — he served a total of 11 years — Huncke became a notorious figure in street lore.

In 1945 he met William Burroughs who was fixating on the idea of "beat" meaning tired, down-trodden, exhausted, which was used to describe that entire generation of 1950s American writers.

John and Joey Martinez (1978), The Evening Sun Turned Crimson (1980) and Guilty of Everything (1981) were reminiscent of Kerouac in their headlong style.

Elizabeth Young: Herbert Huncke, writer, born December 9, 1915; died August 8, 1996. Photo by Faith returns next week.

Weekend Birthdays

They had to build a special ladies' loo for Elizabeth Butler-Sloss (83 today) when she became the first woman judge on the English court of appeal in 1992...

Death Notices

GRACE, peacefully on August 7th 1996 in St. Elizabeth Hospital, Ipswich, Suffolk. Bertha Marjorie Blomfield mother of Catherine and Michael, grandmother of Fergus and Blanche. Funeral service at St John's Church on Monday August 13th 1996 at 2pm.

# Money Guardian



Grounded... Angry Laker passengers confront an airport official while stranded at Gatwick awaiting a flight to the US earlier this week

PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGE CRANE

## Don't just travel hopefully, read that holiday small print

Paul Slade and Rachel Baird

**T**HE perils of going on holiday were highlighted this week by floods in Spain that killed more than 60 people and by major delays at Gatwick airport.

If they want compensation, the 353 Laker Airlines passengers delayed at Gatwick for 48 hours will have to rely on private travel insurance policies. Meanwhile, anyone who wants to cancel a Spanish holiday following the floods, should read their travel policy very carefully before they do. They may well find they cannot claim for cancellation.

The Gatwick passengers' nightmare started when the plane that was meant to take them to Florida was damaged by a storm. It never reached London and a replacement jet was grounded by mechanical problems.

But unless the delay can be shown to be caused by inadequate maintenance at Laker Airlines, lawyers say compensation claims against the airline or the travel agents are unlikely to succeed.

Ashley Holmes, head of legal affairs at the Consumers' Association, says airline ticket conditions generally undertake only to get you to your destination "within a reasonable time", so a delay

beyond Laker's control would not necessarily breach the contract with passengers. "Travel insurance is always a much better bet than going to law," he says.

In finding out compensation claims, airlines will first rely on their standard conditions of conveyance. One barrister believes that, in effect, the airlines are saying: "We have no obligation to fly you anywhere or do anything, and can charge you anything we like."

Contract terms like this, he adds, would probably be deemed unfair if tested in court, but how many people would be prepared to go all

the trouble of going to law for what is likely to be a fairly small payment?

A 1990 European directive on package holidays requires tour operators to meet certain standards, but it does not mention compensation for delays.

Travel agents strongly recommend holidaymakers take out travel insurance when booking their trip, partly because they make a tidy profit selling it.

Insurance policies cover delay and also medical treatment required while abroad, loss of property through theft or accident, and legal liability. The delay element of the cover

typically pays out from £20 to £25 for every 10 to 12 hour period you are delayed, to a maximum of about £100.

If you decide to give up and cancel your holiday altogether after a delay of 10 to 12 hours, many policies will let you claim the full cost of the holiday, up to a maximum of between £3,000 and £5,000.

Assuming they have private cover, each Laker passenger affected by last week's delay should be able to claim between £90 and £100. They may need a letter from Laker confirming the length of the delay before they get paid.

You can buy travel insur-

ance from your travel agent, insurance company, insurance intermediary, bank or building society.

Insurance intermediary Inter Assurance's annual Options policy costs £33 per person and recently featured as a "best buy" in Which?, the Consumers' Association magazine. It offers up to £3,000 if your holiday is cancelled and £10 for every eight hours that your holiday is delayed, up to a maximum of £300.

You may already have cover on your credit card, although this will come into play only if you use the card to buy your holiday.

American Express travel insurance, included as a free extra on its credit and charge cards, offers a £30 payout for every 12 hours you are delayed, to a maximum of £100, plus a cancellation payment of up to £5,000 if you cancel your trip after waiting 12 hours or more.

If NatWest Gold credit card holders are delayed for more than four hours they can claim for "reasonable expenses" of up to £250 per insured person, for costs such as food and accommodation. If the holiday is delayed for 24 hours, they may cancel and claim up to £3,500 per person.

Lunn Poly and Thomas Cook schemes offer £25 for every 10 hours' delay, to a maximum of £200, plus a maximum cancellation payout of £5,000 if you wait for 10 hours.

The Thomas Cook scheme costs £32.95 for two weeks in Europe or £53.50 for two weeks worldwide.

Those cancelling because their holiday destination has been hit by freak weather, such as the floods in Spain, should check their policy carefully.

Mondial Assistance would pay a cancellation claim made because of a flood but insurance company Club Direct says this is a "grey area". One Way Travel Insurance says someone other than the traveller (for example a tour operator) would have to recognise a destination as too dangerous before it would pay for cancellation.

Direct Line would pay for cancellation due to something beyond your control, such as a campsite being washed away. However, it would not pay merely because you did not fancy going somewhere hit by floods.

A worrying survey of 38 foreign hotels by the Consumers' Association might make some people want to cancel. It claims some tour operators are sending holidaymakers to potential deathtraps. Only one of 38 hotels in Turkey and Grand Canaria proved satisfactory in safety terms.

## Passenger on BA's case over ruined luggage

Paul Slade

**W**HEN Judith Thomas tried to claim compensation from British Airways for luggage destroyed on a flight from Marseilles to London, the airline disclaimed all responsibility for the flight.

This came as a surprise to Ms Thomas, as she had bought her ticket through BA's Executive Club, the plane was painted in the airline's colours and had been staffed by one of its crew.

Her suitcase was de-

stroyed when it fell off a baggage van on the tarmac at Marseilles and was run over. When she came to put in her £300 claim, BA said her flight had been with TAT European Airlines based at Tours in France.

At the time of the flight in question, BA owned 49 per cent of TAT, a deal which allows TAT planes on the London-Marseilles route to fly in BA livery. BA has since bought the remaining 51 per cent of the company, a deal which it says should improve its control of TAT's operation.

It was only when Ms

Thomas complained to a BA Executive Club supervisor that the "world's favourite airline" agreed to deal with her claim directly. So far, she has received no compensation as a result of the June 27 flight.

Ms Thomas says: "I think the whole thing's fishy. A flight's either run by British Airways or it isn't. If it isn't, they should say so. If a plane carrying their livery crashed, would BA have tried to disown the flight?"

BA points to a footnote in its timetable explaining the relationship between BA and TAT, and says travel

agents should also make this link clear. But, as far as Ms Thomas was concerned, Flight BA3207V was a straightforward British Airways flight.

BA's David Snelling says any passenger with a similar problem can insist BA deals with it direct. "We've got our name on it, and it's our responsibility." He believes Ms Thomas should get her cheque "in the next few weeks".

If your luggage is lost or damaged on a flight, Mr Snelling explains, fill in a claim form before leaving the airport. These can be

found at the airline's baggage services desk. Someone there should be able to help you fill in the form and put it through the system, Snelling says.

BA has other partnerships deals with Qantas and US Air, covering flights to New Zealand and secondary destinations in America. In these cases, BA handles the first leg of the flight, with passengers transferring to the partner airline at a "hub" airport such as Los Angeles or Pittsburgh.

In these cases, the second plane is marked in the other airline's colours.

## Million benefit from merger

Rachel Baird

**T**HE merger of United Friendly and Refuge Assurance announced this week and the continuing fight for control of the £500 million KEPTT fund are good news for small investors.

Some one million owners of Refuge with-profits policies will get a share of the £101 million bonus the company has declared as a result of the merger. The new company to be formed, United Assurance Group, will have around 8.5 million policyholders and a stock market value of around £1.5 billion.

The £101 million Refuge policyholders' bonus is surplus to what the life assurance company needs to meet obligations to policyholders. However, Refuge with-profits policyholders will get their bonus when policies mature.

Its size will depend on what kind of with-profits policy is held. Someone with a 10-year industrial branch endowment (the premiums for which are collected from their home), with a sum assured of £5,000, would get an extra £244 when their policy matured. A man who started paying £300 a year towards his pension in 1966 aged 35 would get an extra £128 a year added to his pension at age 65. But do not rush to take out a with-profits Refuge policy in the hope of getting a share of the £101 million bonus. Only people who took out policies before August 8 1996 are eligible.

With-profits endowment policyholders could realise some of their bonus entitlement now by selling their policy on the second-hand endowment market. But the bonus is only a small fraction of the maturity value of their policy and it would not be worth selling just to realise part of the bonus, says David Beale of second-hand endowment policy trader Beale Double.

Refuge will write to policyholders with details of its merger and has set up a helpline on 0645-368-368.

United Friendly announced a distribution of surplus funds to policyholders last year, so there is no bonanza now.

Meanwhile, the battle for the destiny of the Kleinwort European Privatisation Investment Trust (KEPTT) heated up this week. Around 10 different fund managers have expressed interest in gaining control of KEPTT, after a hostile bid last week by the TR European Growth Trust.

At present KEPTT's assets are managed by Kleinwort Benson Investment Trust but the current value of KEPTT shares is less than what investors paid for them.

KEPTT's directors have now invited proposals from interested parties regarding the fund's future with a deadline of August 19. It will then decide which proposal is in shareholders' best interests and put it to a shareholders' vote.

Money Guardian is edited by Margaret Hughes



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# Going flat out to fight the landlord

Jill Papworth

**F**LAT and house owners with long leases will this autumn get new legal powers to fight unscrupulous landlords when the Housing Act comes into force. But, while welcoming the Act as "going some way to help" tenant victims of rogue freeholders, campaigners for leasehold reform say it does not go far enough to give leaseholders control over the management of their properties. They also fear a scramble among unscrupulous landlords to beat the legislative clock by taking advantage of legal ploys before the changes become law.

## Rogue landlords have intimidated leaseholders into paying inflated service and maintenance charges by issuing forfeiture notices

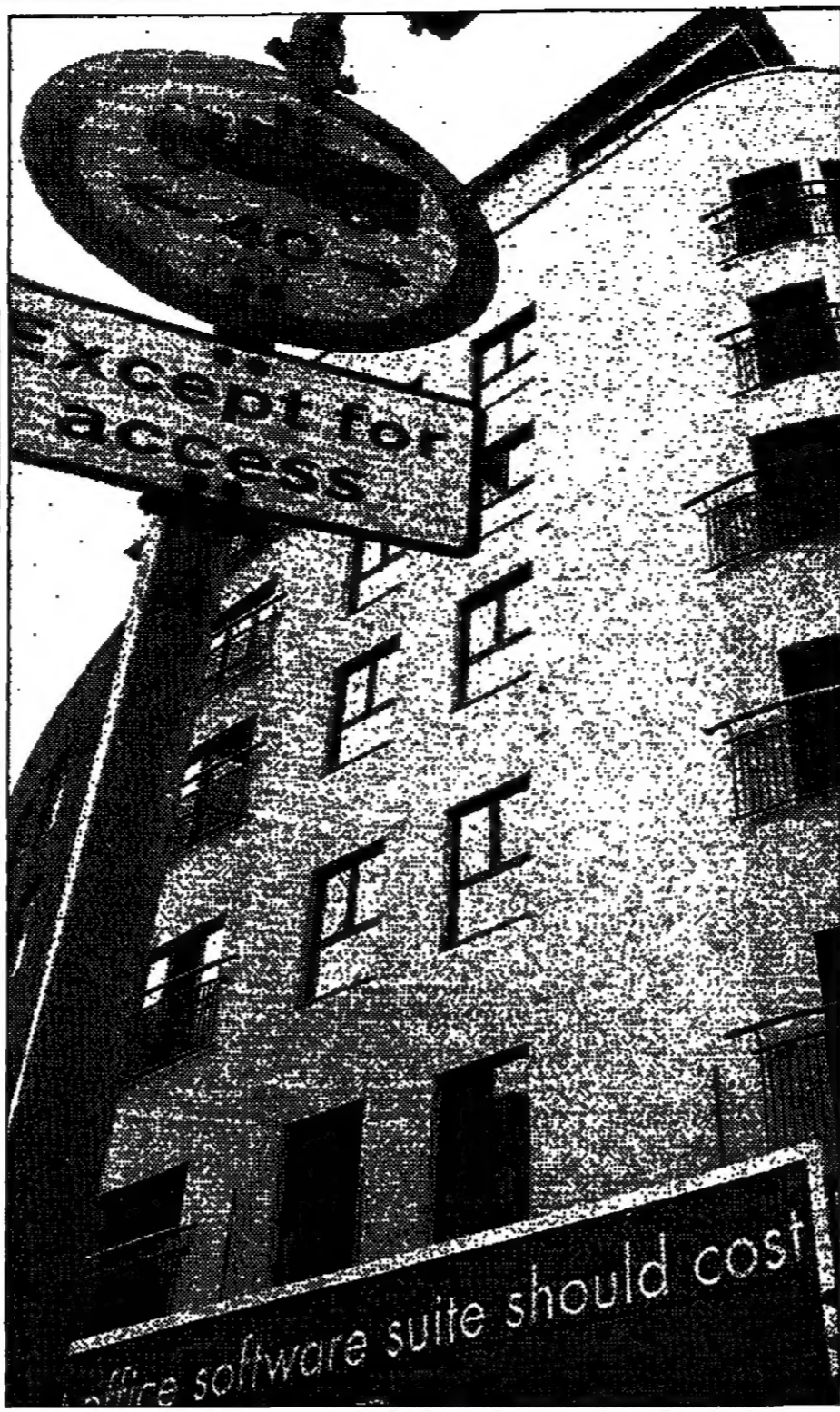
"I'd say the most important change for leaseholders is the extra protection the Act gives on forfeiture," said Peter Haler, chief executive of LEAS, the Government-funded Leasehold Enfranchisement Advisory Service. Under current law, rogue landlords have been able to intimidate leaseholders into paying inflated service and maintenance charges by issuing them with forfeiture notices, threatening to repossess the lease on their property if they do not pay up. "In fact, such notices are not enforceable without a county court order, but a lot of tenants don't realise this and pay up in panic," Mr Haler said. "If they are strong enough to hold out, the landlord very often goes to their mortgage lender and persuades them to pay up on their borrower's behalf, again by

threatening forfeiture. Either way, landlords often get away with extracting the money without ever going to court." The new forfeiture rules will, from September 24, make forfeiture a two-stage process. A landlord will not be able to ask a court for a possession order until the sum of money in dispute has been already determined, or agreed as lawfully due by the courts. "This will give the tenant the chance to put their case without being under the duress of forfeiture proceedings and, hopefully, stop landlords threatening possession on spurious demands."

the right to buy at this price. "The problem is that few leaseholders are aware of this right," Mr Haler said. Further changes under the Act should remove the problem of ignorance. The new landlord will have to inform tenants of their rights and the time limits will be extended to four and six months respectively.

Other key changes include the effective abolition of "tying freeholds". To be eligible for enfranchisement under the 1993 Leasehold Reform Act, a building had to have a single freehold. Some landlords used this to prevent tenants from buying the freehold by deliberately splitting the freehold, typically transferring the ownership of a ground floor flat to an associated company. The new Act scrapes the single free-

hold requirement. More tenants should also be eligible for enfranchisement, or lease extension, under the new Act, which abolishes the complex and arbitrary "low rent" test for urban leases of more than 35 years when granted. A welcome change for an estimated one in three tenants in dispute with their freeholders over excessive service charges or poor management is that they can take their grievances to Leasehold Valuation Tribunals, which can appoint an independent manager to the property. Advice is available from the Leasehold Enfranchisement Advisory Service 0171-499-3118; Campaign Against Residential Leasehold Abuse 01787-462787 and Leasehold Enfranchisement Association 0171-597-0655.



Good sign... Long-lease holders soon to be armed with legal powers PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

# Charities set to give investments ethical dimension

Mick Paragya

**C**HARITIES in Britain have an estimated £28 billion in their reserves, much of it invested in the stock market, giving them enormous clout in keeping the companies in which they invest on the straight and narrow. Yet this ethical dimension is not at the forefront of most charities' investment policies. A study by the WM Company, which measures charities' investment performance, showed barely 7 per cent imposing any ethical constraints. Now, the Christian Ethical Investment Group and the Church Commissioners have joined forces to produce a guide book aimed at trustees of charities seeking to formulate an investment policy with an ethical dimension. The guide, *Charity Trustees and Investment Ethics*, is backed by the Ethical Investment Research Service (EIRIS) which monitors corporate ethics of companies trading on the Stock Exchange, and stockbroker Albert E. Sharp. It was also supported by solicitor Herbert Smith who helped to clarify the law relating to charities' ethical investment policy.

## Only 7 per cent put restraints of conscience on investment decisions

This is based on the judgment in the case of the Bishop of Oxford and others versus the Church Commissioners, whereby vice-chancellor Nicholls laid out three main rules. Trustees have a right to take ethical considerations into account even when this could be financially detrimental to the charity. Another circumstance where Trustees would also be entitled, or even required, to take into account the non-financial criteria would be where the trust deed specifies an ethical stance to be adopted by the charity. Thirdly, trustees must consider those cases where there may be a straightforward conflict between the objec-

tives of the charity, for example a cancer relief charity investing in shares of tobacco company.

There is a useful checklist for charities which are trying to work out their ethical investment policy with due regard to the charity's primary stakeholders, its beneficiaries.

But choosing an ethical fund is not always straightforward, as some funds may not be as ethical as they seem. Manchester-based independent financial adviser Gaela Global and Ethical Investment Advice helps charities and other voluntary organisations to steer an ethical course before entrusting their funds to a particular fund manager.

Elsewhere, fund manager Friends Provident, which since 1994 has run Stewardship trust — an ethical fund for private investors — will next month launch the first institutional ethical pooled fund designed especially for charities. The fund will aim to ensure that trustees would be failing in their duty to achieve decent investment returns through adequate diversification from a list of UK stocks that have been cleared on ethical grounds.

The fund manager's views are confirmed by the latest review of ethical unit trusts by the Co-operative Insurance Society which shows that, despite the recent falls in the stock market, most ethical funds have held up well. Returns of the UK's ethical and ecological unit trusts for the first week in August range from an increase of 33 per cent to 163 per cent over 5 years from August 1, 1991 to August 1 1996. For copies of *Charity Trustees and Investment Ethics*, priced £3.50, contact Canon Bill Whiffen of Christian Ethical Investors Group at 30 Booker Avenue, Bradwell Common, Milton Keynes MK13 8EF. For Money and Ethics, priced £14.55, contact EIRIS on 0171 735 1351. GAEA can be reached on 0161 434 4681.

# Mortgage jargon continues to puzzle buyers

Lina Saigol

**T**HE good news is that the house market is picking up. The bad news is that buyers are still confused about the process of buying their homes, according to a survey published this week by Barclays Mortgage. Nine in ten buyers are

baffled by mortgage jargon, while less than two-thirds understand how Miras tax relief works and less than half understand discounted mortgages. With the pick up in the housing market discounts, like cashbacks, are in any case being cut back with new deals on offer this week but the Alliance & Leicester

has lowered its three-year fixed rate mortgage from 6.75 per cent to 6.65 per cent. The one, two, three and five-year fixed rate mortgages will now run until September 1, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2001. And John Charcol, the independent adviser, has launched a mortgage with a fixed rate of 5.99 per cent until July 1, 1999. A reduced £150

arrangement fee is payable on completion. The Derbyshire Building Society is offering a 6.75 per cent fixed rate mortgage until January 31, 2000. The standard mortgage valuation fee is waived. Borrowers need a minimum 5 per cent deposit. Legal & General has introduced payment holidays and improved lending terms on its

Flexible Reserve mortgage at 6.24 per cent. The maximum loan-to-value available has

been increased to 95 per cent for a straight pound-for-pound swap with another lender.

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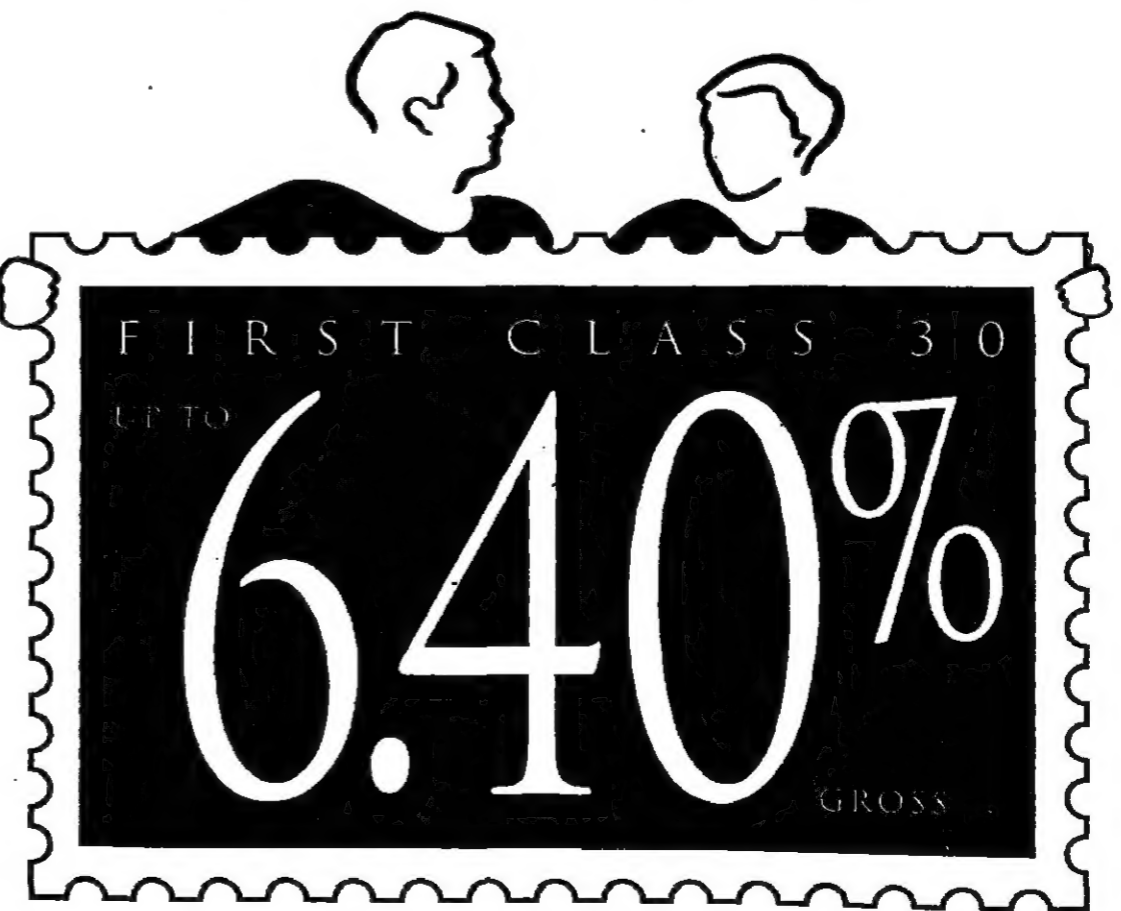
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# FinanceGuardian

## City of hope holds its breath

The end of the Troubles brought prosperity to a battered corner of the province. Today's events could tip the balance. But Derry is hoping to stay in business. PETER HETHERINGTON reports



Poised on the brink... The city which was beginning to rebuild stands in fear of the weekend's events  
PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN SMITH

**T**HE freshly painted slogan screams out from a gable end in the Bogside below Derry's 17th-century walls: "Nothing Has Changed".

It is yet another ominous reminder that events, running out of control for much of the week, are in danger of turning full circle in the city where the Troubles started — and where, ironically, peace broke out long before the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries' ceasefires almost two years ago.

By evoking memories of a bloody past, when the magnificent old city was devastated by bombing and rioting over a quarter of a century ago, the slogan hideously misrepresents the new Derry. "Things have changed — but it's a painful time for change," says Pat Devine, self-employed joiner and leader of the 17-strong majority nationalist-leaning SDLP group on Derry City Council, which could hold power — but chooses to share an element of control with Unionists.

"We are no model council — simply struggling to find new ways of dealing with old problems... We are not miracle workers," he says.

But some think a minor miracle has been worked in Derry. When the Apprentice Boys descend on the city today for their annual parade, the scale of reconstruction, and consequent revival, will be largely obscured by a thick security blanket, which has involved partly closing the historic walls to avoid widespread disorder.

Loyalist marchers, after all, want to celebrate the past, not address the future, while hardline Republicans are in no mood for compromise — marching to commemorate another anniversary, internment, against the better judgement of moderate nationalists.

This is a great pity. Because the monumental effort in-

involved in pulling a devastated city back from the brink represents a triumph of co-operation between divided communities over the ever-present forces of darkness in their midst. It also represents an act of faith by a much criticised British government, which, in co-operation with local agencies, has poured hundreds of millions into the reconstruction drive for redevelopment of the centre: building new houses, attracting new industries and creating thousands of jobs.

Derry, in short, has a favoured status the envy of any British city — but then, it has suffered more than most.

At the height of the rioting and bombing in the seventies, 5,300 houses were destroyed or badly damaged, and 130

Over the last 12 years, £500 million has been invested in the city

shops, offices and pubs gutted. Government planners, who took over from a discredited Unionist council, suggested at one stage that the devastation was so extensive that the entire centre would have to be rebuilt.

A relative calm descended on Derry in the late eighties. It began to attract a range of companies, from textiles to high technology, which transformed the local economy — and the city quietly became an international success story.

Like the business community, and an innovative local council which has even brought a £12 million airport to the city, Jim Foster, the senior civil servant in charge of planning a new Derry and attracting industry, is now holding his breath as marchers threaten to blow apart the miracle.

Over the last 12 years he

estimates that £500 million has been invested in the city by the public and private sector. Nine thousand new houses, two thirds of them private, have been built. Unemployment has been halved to 15 per cent in a city where almost 60 per cent of the population, now at over 100,000, is under the age of 30. Employment, at 33,000, is at an all-time high with 5,000 new jobs created in 10 years.

"The feeling until recently is that we were going through the most successful period in the city's history," says Foster. "People were looking forward in a much more confident frame of mind at a real prospect of further success."

For those familiar with the desolate Derry of the seventies, a drive towards the new city confirms the transformation — sweeping across a new bridge over the Foyle, north of the centre, with the gentle Donegal hills beckoning a few miles away. Past modern industrial and housing estates, plush executive homes and a growing university campus, you soon reach the splendour of the old Georgian terraces running down to the river and a 266-million Foyle-side shopping centre, developed by a Boston-Irish company.

Derry seems to be taking some significant steps towards breaking the old taboos — particularly by developing cross-border institutions and companies transcending the seemingly pitiful line separating Northern Ireland from the rest of the old province of Ulster.

Then came the Drumcree stand-off in July, the riots in Derry and elsewhere, and the worst elements of sectarian bitterness which many thought had been consigned to history.

The fall in confidence is palpable. Take Seagate Technology from California, which is well on the way to completing a £175 million plant making thin film heads for computer disc drives and data storage

equipment. Soon its 800-strong workforce will expand by a further 350, three years after production started. A European research and development centre is well under way on the site, Michael Caulfield, managing director, says they came because Northern Ireland's government-backed Industrial Development Board offered world-beating grants — namely up to half of the initial start-up costs of \$65 million.

Seagate is well pleased with the quality of labour — it has tapped into the local University of Ulster College — and more than happy with the city. "We will not get cold feet," says Caulfield.

But others, about to make investment decisions, clearly will. He concedes: "My con-

Doubt stalks output boom

A future caught between promise and foreboding

**A**S CHAIRMAN of the Institute of Directors in Northern Ireland, Alan McClure represents the new breed of young entrepreneurs. They have helped push the province to the forefront in manufacturing, where output is now twice the UK average.

His Derry-based company, employing 140 in the manufacture of specialist medical packaging, recently became part of a big US concern — one of the many American corporations who see Northern Ireland as the most attractive location for saving Europe.

Mr McClure is holding his breath this weekend. "We have got to put the past behind us. I am trying to think what kind of future my three kids will have."

With contemporaries who transcend the sectarian divide, Mr McClure only wishes the zealots on both sides would consider the damage they inflict on the local economy by raking over old tribal sores.

Northern Ireland's economic success is a testament to the peace dividend. Manufacturing output over the past four years is up 15.6 per cent while export growth, at 21 per cent, is similarly twice the UK average.

Unemployment at 11 per

cent is for companies we thought were coming in our trail — many have spoken to us personally — and a number have been sitting on inward investment projects, maybe some of them ready to sign up. Those projects, I feel, are now truly and profoundly at risk — turn your TV to CNN in the States and what do you see — burning cars and a few hundred throwing petrol bombs."

A mid-July disorder, fuelled by Drumcree, has simply turned the clock back. Garvan O'Docherty employs 300 in a string of up-market pubs and restaurants. He was planning two Derry hotels; one with 40 bedrooms will be built, but the second, with 60, has been put on ice.

He says: "It's absolutely the wrong time to go ahead now."

The tourist industry has been hit with enormous cancellations. What is shocking most people is the speed with which the years have been rolled back — the most worrying thing was the street violence that came so quickly.

O'Docherty says the climate of confidence has been eroded, but not eliminated altogether. Nevertheless, he has decided to spread his risks in future, by investing over the border in the Irish Republic a mile from the Derry boundary.

In doing so, he is merely reinforcing a view shared by government planners, that Derry has to accept geographic realities: namely that at least a third of its natural hinterland lies in the Republic. In the latest Derry area plan, just published, the Government recognises for the first time the city's "wider regional role in the North-west".

One large company has already broken the border taboo. Fruit Of The Loom, a joint venture between an American concern and an old established company in Buncrana, Donegal, symbolises cross-border industrialisation. It has five clothing factories in Donegal and a complementary spinning mill in Derry five miles away. Between them, the plants employ 2,500 — and all exports are routed through Northern Ireland.

Mr Devine, the SDLP Derry council leader, chairs a cross-

border strategy group embracing Donegal County Council, Derry City Council and two other Northern Ireland local authorities. It has a small, European Union-funded secretariat in the city.

Devine sees the day coming when the border will be irrelevant, with an industrial zone embracing Donegal and Derry. Already the cross-border group is taking a leading role in planning a free-trade area, which could mean — US Congress permitting — goods from north-west Ireland entering the United States tariff-free.

John Hume, the local SDLP MP, can take credit for bringing several thousand new jobs to Derry through his US connections. He is not entirely pessimistic about the future.

McGinnis, who runs a property company and is developing a site for a new Sainsbury superstore in Derry, says: "It will be hard to defend a situation in the weeks and months ahead of civil disorder breaking out over this weekend. It is a very fearful and frightening time."

But Paddy Docherty, veteran Republican from the Bogside and former civil rights activist, is not entirely down-hearted. In the late sixties he negotiated with the British Army to defuse the continuing riots in Derry which fuelled the wider troubles. Now he runs Derry's Inner City Trust — a redevelopment-cum-job-creation scheme launched 15 years ago with £2000 from an American Irish fund and another £3,000 from a bank.

Today the Trust is Ireland's most successful urban regeneration scheme. With grants from government agencies and a variety of other sources, his organisation has spent over £15 million building houses, flats, a craft village, a new museum and an international youth hostel in numerous gap sites in Derry.

Docherty bemoans the "terrible death wish on the part of some politicians". About time, he said, that they addressed the future instead of dwelling on the past — and, crucially, considered the awful economic consequences of further disorder. But he insists: "I am not despondent."

The climate of confidence has been eroded, but not eliminated

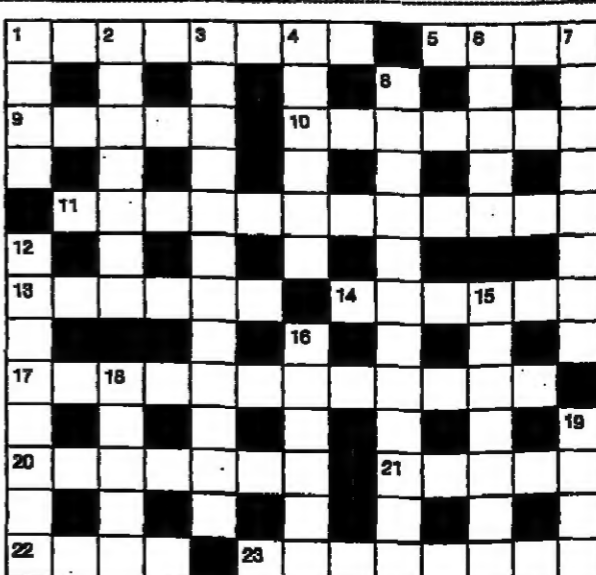
although he concedes that Drumcree "shattered a lot of people in Northern Ireland — it was a very major setback... created a lot of anger."

But like John McGinnis, president of the local Chamber of Commerce, he believes the city has the capacity to push through — if there is no trouble on the streets.

### Quick Crossword No. 8201

**Across**  
1 Recommend — a lawyer (6)  
2 Flat-bottomed boat (4)  
3 Fire-raising (5)  
10 Plunder (7)  
11 Shop selling exotic foods (12)  
13 Girl — a famous film-star? (6)  
14 Fighting instrument (6)  
17 Best assistant, supporter (5-4,3)  
20 Ancient county division — five soors? (7)  
21 Female relative (5)  
22 Sherpan (4)  
23 Goodbye (French) (2,6)

**Down**  
1 Slightly open (4)



- 2 RC service (7)
- 3 Placatory (12)
- 4 Plaid (6)
- 6 Disorder (5)
- 7 Rousing (5)
- 8 Liberty (12)
- 12 Humorous personalised verse (5)
- 15 Shem medical treatment (7)
- 16 A four-wheeled carriage (6)
- 18 Arabian sprits (5)
- 19 Expensive — address? (4)

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"We have got to put the past behind us. I am trying to think what kind of future my three kids will have"

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